AUG2987
TN S J U8AL bO
E TENNESSEE ST UNIV
PERIODICALS LIBR
THE SHERROD LIBR
JOHNSON CITY TN
NOV 24 1986
B35
3RG
3AG4

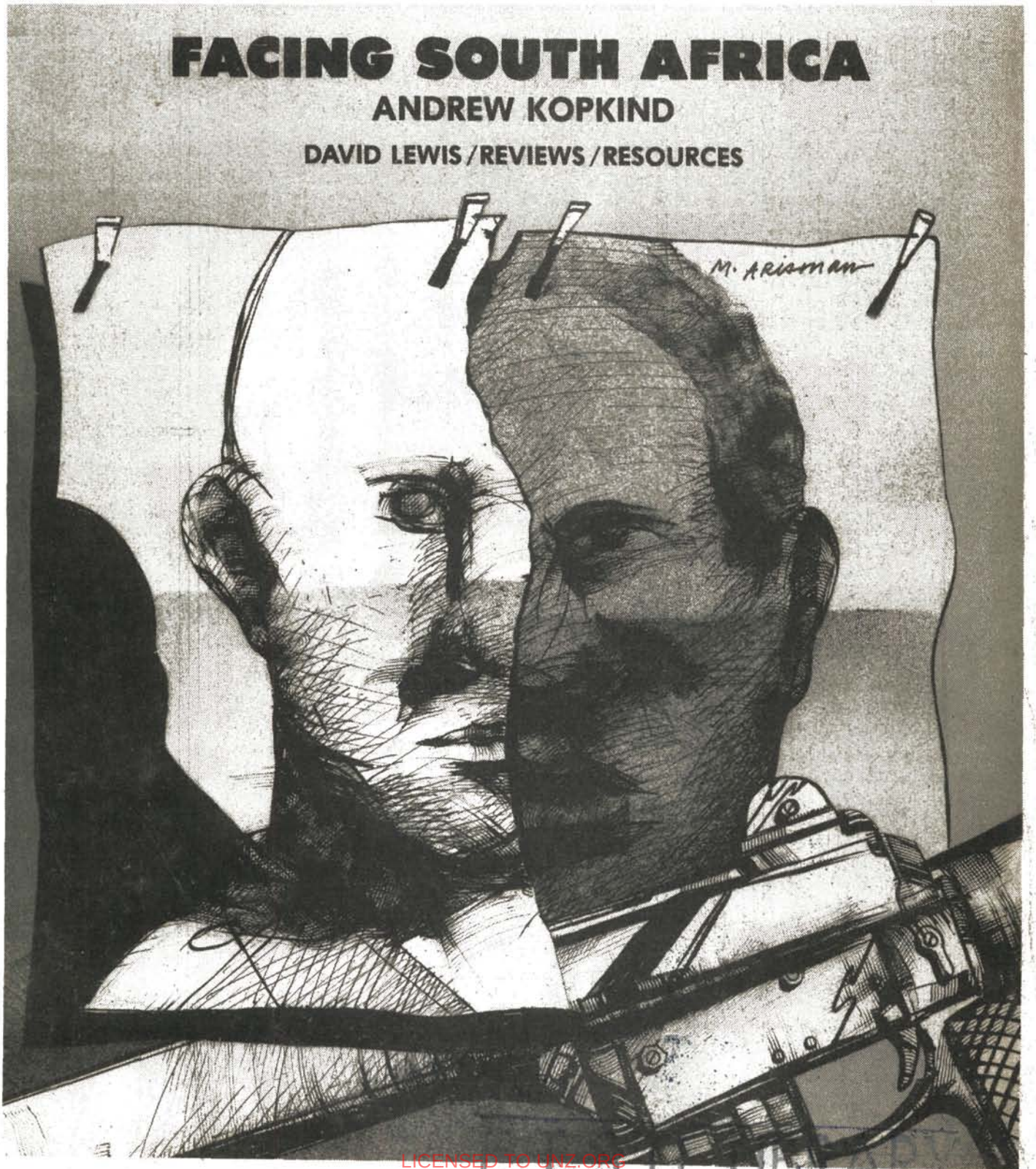
The Nation.

November 22, 1986 $1.25; U.K. 85p

FACING SOUTH AFRICA

ANDREW KOPKIND

DAVID LEWIS / REVIEWS / RESOURCES



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 243, Number 17

EDITORIALS

538 Warning and Hope

COLUMNS

540 Beat the Devil — *Alexander Cockburn*

ARTICLES

542 A Reporter's Notebook: Facing South Africa — *Andrew Kopkind*

563 South Africa in World Politics: At the Gates of the Laager — *David Lewis*

BOOKS & THE ARTS

570 Nkosi: Mating Birds
Ndebele: Fools and Other Stories — *George Packer*

574 Music in the Mix — *Gerald Seligman*

578 Township Theater — *Rob Nixon*

581 Book Notes: Recent Books on South Africa — *Dan Simon, Robin Epstein*

583 Resources: Organizations and Media Concerned With South Africa

Cover illustration and drawings by Marshall Arisman

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Elsa Dixler; *Associate Editors,* George Black, Andrew Kopkind; *Assistant Editor,* Katrina vanden Heuvel; *Literary Editor,* Elizabeth Pochoda; *Assistant Literary Editor (Copy),* Julie Abraham; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Chief,* JoAnn Wypijewski; *Assistant Copy Editors,* Vania Del Borgo, Judith Long; *Interns,* Gaspar Copado, Siddharth Dube, Brad Kessler, Sarah B. Perl, Katherine Schwartz (Washington), Nina Shapiro, Lydia Stryk, Ruth Yodaiken; *On leave,* Richard Lingeman, Maria Margaronis.

Departments: Art, Arthur C. Danto; *Dance,* Mindy Aloff; *Fiction,* Terrence Rafferty; *Films,* Andrew Kopkind; *Lingo,* Jim Quinn; *Music,* David Hamilton; *Correspondents: Washington, D.C.,* Christopher Hitchens; *Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *Europe,* Daniel Singer; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Defense,* Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Kai Bird & Max Holland (*Capitol Letter*), Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*). *Contributing Editors:* Blair Clark, Herman Schwartz, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

Manuscripts: All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Director,* Chris Calhoun; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeepers,* Tanveer Mall, Ivor A. Richardson; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Director,* Stephen W. Soule; *Director of Development and Publicity,* Micah L. Sifry; *Subscription Manager,* Cookee V. Klein; *Assistant Advertising Manager,* Neil Black; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Production,* Terry Miller; *Typography,* Randall Cherry, Mitchel Cohen, Sandy McCroskey, Richard Snyder; *Nation Associates Director,* Nancy Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen; *Publishing Consultant,* Phillip Frazer.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by The Nation Company, Inc. Directors: Arthur Carter, Hamilton Fish 3rd, Victor Navasky. © 1986 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Bureau*: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation*, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. *Subscription Price*: One year, $45; two years, $81. Add $9 for postage outside U.S. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publication date. **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

EDITORIALS.

Warning and Hope

South Africa lives in the mind of America as a symbol, a warning and a hope: in the imagery of the familiar folk lyric, a hammer, a bell and a song. The symbol is of both an ending and a beginning. The hammer of revolution set to strike at some still unforeseeable hour represents not only the last act of the decolonization of the continent, but the genesis of a new struggle to shape African history.

The warning sounds for the global system of political alliances and economic interests headquartered in Washington. Political and financial powers in the United States think of South Africa as an outpost of the Western empire, a cornerstone of that empire's strategy and a trustee of its "civilization." White South African leaders may harbor resentments, but they know that they cannot survive outside the orbit, that they must live in uneasy dependence on the self-interest, if not the kindness, of strangers in another land.

The hope is that a victory against apartheid in South Africa can be shared by others similarly oppressed. There is a worldwide apartheid that expresses on a grand though less obvious scale the prejudices, the priorities and the restrictions of the diabolical model developed in Pretoria. A "white" minority controls the wealth, monopolizes the weapons and determines the crucial policies for a dark majority of the earth. (As in South Africa, other ethnic groups, such as the Japanese, may attain honorary membership in the master race if they acquire enough strength.) The rich and powerful developed and now defend a network of theoretically independent homeland-nations for the poor and powerless, and within that network, immigration and the division of labor is strictly regulated. The concepts of "influx control" and "illegal immigrants" apply equally to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Soweto and San Antonio. What benefits the rulers bestow on their benighted subjects come from the perception of their self-interest rather than from any sense of collective justice or equity.

Americans may not have wanted to find themselves embroiled in the African upheaval, but history has determined that they have no choice. Slavery tied the two continents in a bond that will never be broken. The slave nations in South Africa and the United States developed in their own ways, but each one's struggle inspires the other across the centuries. Almost seventy-five years ago, the African National Congress drew inspiration from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In the 1960s the black consciousness movement in the townships of South Africa built on the ideas and experiences of the black power movement in the rural counties and urban ghettos of America. Today, black Americans mobilize against apartheid.

The differences in the parallel histories are as instructive as the similarities. The U.S. civil rights movement has for the most part been a minority protest against unfair treatment and a plea for acceptance and assimilation. Blacks in the United States have rarely challenged the fundamental legitimacy of white authority. A black South African newspaper editor who had just returned after several weeks in the United States said recently that he believed that "black Americans want to be accepted into white America so badly that even the poorest one will fight to the death for the system that is pushing them away." Blacks in his country, he observed, will not be so easily subsumed into white society because the regime is unable and unwilling to make the concessions that will allow even a semblance of equality.

The lines of communication between the continents run at the ruling as well as the struggling level. Corporate investors keep their hands in South Africa though their tongues wag with reproach. Coca-Cola closed its factory in South Africa but will export some $50 million worth of syrup next year to locally owned franchises. (One antiapartheid activist even praised Coke for selling some of the local bottling rights to blacks on the mistaken theory that black liberation in South Africa is nothing more than a movement for entrepreneurial rights.) General Motors is not "pulling out" but merely liquidating its equity (in a risky economic situation) and maintaining its commercial relations. Those companies prevent the imposition of effective sanctions as much as the official South African office set up for that task.

A mighty tide of ideological and financial "foreign aid" has been sent by U.S. interests to South African shores. Veteran theoreticians of the U.S. war effort in Vietnam, such as Harvard Professor Samuel Huntington, advise South Africans on the pacification and strategic containment of their internal "colony." Some alumni of the civil rights movement suggest to South Africa's rulers clever ways of co-optation and methods for creating an aspiring black middle class with an interest in stability rather than revolution. Liberals who have experience in battling radical dissent in this country tell South Africans how they can infiltrate and manipulate the black protest organizations to dull the edge of revolution.

The energy of the campaign for equality in South Africa has inevitably been felt in the United States. The American antiapartheid movement began forty years ago, when the system was formally imposed in South Africa, but in the past two years it has exploded into an impressive political force in response to the growing insurgency. Its implications are serious not only for U.S. foreign policy, which now must take public protest into account for the first time since the war in Vietnam, but also for American politics.

The Reagan Administration realized during its losing battle against Congressional sanctions this summer that it was facing a domestic civil rights issue as well as a foreign policy one. It is a measure of the historical strength of the worldwide war against apartheid that it can influence the direction and inform the content of political action thousands of miles from its origin, in American cities and campuses, for instance. The drive for corporate divestment and for economic sanctions and political pressure against the Botha regime has acquired a nonracial character that replicates the most powerful movements in South Africa and reverses the dispiriting developments of recent years on the American left, in which social divisions and personal power struggles undercut common efforts.

Black and white solidarity with the South African struggle imposes constraints on the U.S. government far beyond the mechanism of specific sanctions. It makes it politically impossible for any President to give outright material support—much less military assistance—to the white regime in Pretoria. It so widens the discourse on possible resolutions of the conflict that policy-makers are forced to seek a "middle course," far more favorable to the progressive position than they would otherwise consider. And it builds a coalition in this country that may be able to turn to domestic issues with the optimism and experience that comes from a unified and effective movement.

This special issue of *The Nation* presents a picture of South Africa as it faces its momentous appointment with history. It is a view from America, and it should make clearer the possibilities for American engagement with that history. But there is, after all, a limit to the power of the American mind over South African matters. One of the most encouraging aspects of the great turn of events is the capture of history by people who neither respect the opinions of Harvard professors nor fear the decisions of G.M. executives. They are shaping their liberation in their own homes, their streets, their towns. The masters of apartheid have to respond. The power to shape the future is changing hands.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Andrew Kopkind, who wrote "Facing South Africa," was in southern Africa during September and October. Dave Goldiner assisted in research. Some of the names of private individuals have been changed. David Lewis, author of "At the Gates of the Laager," worked in the South African trade union movement for ten years.

The Sherrod Library
East Tennessee State University
Johnson City, Tennessee 37614
NOV 24 1986
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEAT THE DEVIL.

The Elections and Nicaragua

Will the Democrats' recapture of the Senate disturb Ronald Reagan's plan to end the Nicaraguan revolution before he leaves office? It's certainly true that, aside from the election results themselves, disclosures stemming from Eugene Hasenfus and the cargo of the C-123, not to mention the uproar over disinformation and the arms-to-Iran deal, have put a bit of fire into the press's belly and set the Administration somewhat on the defensive. Since the Democrats have little idea of what to do about the economy, or much else for that matter, they seem to think that a vigorous set of *contra*-gate hearings on drugs and gunrunning might be a good way of kicking the Administration around.

Senator John Kerry's staff has been working on *contra*-gate for months, and hearings in the full Senate Foreign Relations Committee, preferably with subpoena power, could prove useful in slowing down the momentum of intervention. There are some decent new Democrats in the Senate, and since things couldn't be worse than they've been in the past two years, maybe they will get better. But it's far from clear that the Democrats will have any more backbone in the future than they've had in the past to stand up against charges that they are "losing" Nicaragua. History instructs us that if the Democrats discover that the *contras* are a bunch of thugs, they are likely to urge shoals of U.S. advisers to purge "the Nicaraguan quagmire" and throw out the Sandinistas with all due North American efficiency.

Although it's hard to assess how important Central America was to the voters, overall the results were encouraging. Democratic incumbents and challengers with decent positions on Central America did not suffer. In the cases of Alan Cranston, Tim Wirth and Wyche Fowler it is clear that grass-roots organizing by Central America activists and public support for their criticisms of Reagan's policy in that region helped give them the winning margins. Contrarily, Reagan's Central America policy was no help, indeed was a detriment, to Republican incumbents and challengers. Dean Baker, the candidate from Ann Arbor mentioned here a few weeks ago, failed in his bid to eject Representative Carl Pursell but did cut into the Republican incumbent's majority. If General Motors had not waited until after the election to announce plant closings that will put 29,000 people out of work in four states including Michigan, Baker might have done better, as might have other candidates. (These closures are a major social catastrophe, to which the press either paid little attention or hailed in the financial pages as a sound piece of cost-cutting by G.M. *USA Today* was particularly disgusting in this regard.)

Arnaud's Scoop

The President must feel as if someone had slipped kryptonite into his pockets. Not only has disclosure of former national security adviser Robert McFarlane's mission to Iran rendered ludicrous all the high-minded blather about not talking to "terrorists," but now so fervent a friend of the Administration as Arnaud de Borchgrave has severely compromised the antiterrorist crusade, which has been the most conspicuous ideological trapping of Reagan's foreign policy. In *The Washington Times* for November 7, Borchgrave reported, on the basis of an interview with the French Prime Minister, that "Chirac was informed by West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher that Syria was not involved in the [El Al] plane bomb incident. . . . Their conclusion was that the near-disaster in London was a provocation organized jointly by Israel's Mossad intelligence service and renegade elements in Syrian President Hafez Assad's entourage." The idea of the provocation would have been to trigger retaliatory action against Syria.

To have so dedicated a monger of terror conspiracy as old Arnaud exonerating Assad and implicating Mossad is to show that such Reaganite weapons as "terrorism" and "disinformation" are at least temporarily in poor shape. Incidentally, the commotion over McFarlane's trip is funny. There's been evidence that the Administration has been funneling arms to Iran for years. On October 21 and 23, 1982, then-Israeli Ambassador Moshe Arens candidly told *The Boston Globe* that the Israelis had been supplying arms to Iran "in coordination with the U.S. government . . . at almost the highest levels" and that "the purpose was to make contact with some military officers who might one day be in a position of power in Iran." So much for the hostages.

The Populist Counterattack

Right up until the moment the polls closed, the press read the midterm elections entirely wrong. Some pundits were writing the words "continuing political realignment" as late as 6 P.M. on November 4, until the early returns forced them to hit the destruct buttons on their word processors and instead call Tip O'Neill for a quote about the end of the Reagan revolution. By midevening some of the more adventurous of the political trendspotters were already on the porch with their telescopes, crying out to each other in soft yet excited voices about the new "populist" revolution shimmering on the horizon.

It would in fact be odd if, after six years of Reagan's retread of the Gilded Age, a significant swath of the citizenry did not think that things were getting out of control. And indeed a poll conducted by Fingerhut/Madison Opinion Research showed that "heavy majorities of voters, across the ideological, partisan and other spectrums, share populist concerns that power has become too concentrated in the hands of wealthy corporate interests." That conviction did not, unfortunately, extend into New York State, where voters turned out in droves for Senator Alfonse D'Amato, a man with the words "wealthy corporate interests" tatooed on his forehead, or into Texas, where hoglike corporate interest propelled Bill Clements back into the governor's office at the expense of the more decorous corporate porkerdom represented by Mark White, or into . . .

But what's the point of being churlish? If you can't get Texas, where Lloyd Bentsen, incoming chair of the Senate

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ALEXANDER COCKBURN

Finance Committee, hinted that there should be some changes in the new tax law, "especially in provisions that . . . are harmful to business," then settle for the spark ignited by the angered farmers in the Dakotas, in rural Georgia and in other bomb craters of the Reagan revolution where prowls the ghost of the great Wright Patman.

Whose Deficit Is It Anyway?

The people may now feel populist. They often do. But what about the politicians? Populist good intentions can get beached in idiotic antitrust legislation of the sort that gave us the liberal-inspired, conservative-consummated breakup of A.T.&T., or the Ted Kennedy/Alfred Kahn–inspired deregulation of the late 1970s, now speeding us toward a highly concentrated, high-priced airline industry even as Kahn bleats for the government supervision he and his neoliberal sponsors of the Carter era did so much to destroy. Most Democratic contenders for 1988 continue to talk deferentially about the "positive" lessons of Reaganism—reduced government, diminished reverence for any benign social contract, the healing powers of greed, otherwise known as the entrepreneurial spirit. A counterattack on the bipartisan Reaganism that has entrenched itself in the past six years will have to be intellectually and politically audacious. Unsurprisingly, Americans care about what makes them sick—as votes on toxic waste, clean water and nuclear refuse dumps all make plain—and they care about what will happen to them when they get sick. They care a lot more about health-care reform than they did about the tax reform that will leave most people either in the same state as they were before or worse off. So an audacious politician should have in his or her pocket a radical program for health-care reform. He or she should also have the sense not to scream virtuously about cutting the deficit.

The great Reaganite trap, all baited and set for the years 1986 through 1992, is to have the Democrats supervise fiscal and budgetary shrinkage following Reagan's deficits incurred in the service of the military and the rich. The populist counterattack is to ask, Whose deficit is it anyway? Interest on the debt, which is a swelling portion of the budget, is raised by taxes on the many and repaid to the few. It's a form of transfer payment to the rich. So the answer is not to take the Mondale route of 1984, signposted toward raising taxes and slashing deficits (the Reagan trap mentioned above), since cutting the deficit will bash the economy into even worse shape than much of it is already. The populist way out is to urge socialization of the debt, deficit spending for the common good through public housing and the like. The corollary, redistribution of wealth through progressive taxation, is, thanks to Bill Bradley et al.'s pre-emption of true tax reform, off the agenda.

Index Fingered

Index on Censorship is a useful little periodical, circulation 3,000, published in London. Its July/August issue carried an article by Noam Chomsky on thought control in the United States with regard to the Middle East, notably Israel. To anyone familiar with the rottenness of U.S. press coverage of the area, Chomsky if anything understated the degree of self-censorship and the constraints on free discussion of the relevant issues. But the reaction to his piece was instructive. The editor of *Index* received abusive communications protesting the mere fact that Chomsky had been invited to contribute. *Index*, they seemed to be saying, had failed in the very activity the magazine exists to challenge: the exercise of censorship.

Among those protesting was Nora Beloff, formerly a political correspondent of *The Observer*. She cited in support of her protest an anonymous denunciation of Chomsky by someone she described in an earlier version of her published letter as the "wisest and least polemical of our philosophers." That philosopher, she said, had now canceled his subscription to *Index*. Beloff confided privately that the philosopher was Isaiah Berlin, supposed by many to be a glorious emblem of high-minded liberal tolerance.

As retailed by Beloff, the sagacious Berlin asserted flatly that it is inaccurate to say, as Chomsky had, that while there is technically no censorship in the United States, the press is so pro-Israel and anti-Arab that it exaggerates atrocities committed against Israel and suppresses atrocities committed by Israel. Berlin also maintained, rather comically, that a piece denouncing the U.S. media for distortion and suppression is not an exposure of censorship and hence is beyond the purview of *Index*. Far more vitriolic was a letter to *Index* director Dan Jacobson in which the correspondent flailed at Chomsky as "a fanatical defender of the PLO who has set new standards for intellectual dishonesty and personal vindictiveness in his writings about the Middle East." This raving came from Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and son-in-law of Norman Podhoretz. It was inscribed under the letterhead of the State Department and thus was a denunciation by the U.S. government of a foreign magazine for publishing the work of a U.S. citizen. It's exactly as if the editor of *The Nation* got an abusive letter from the Soviet Foreign Ministry for publishing the work of a Soviet dissident. It is not often that one can find so bizarre a case: Abrams superintending a campaign of mass murder in Central America while finding the time to write to a tiny magazine 3,000 miles away about the folly of efforts to discuss censorship in the coverage of Israel in the press of that country's chief sponsor. *Index* has now published a foolish rebuttal to Chomsky, to which he will respond in the January issue.

Footnote: In August, Israel shut down *al-Mithaq* and *al-Ahd*, and now it plans to deport Akram Haniye, the editor of *A-Sha'ab*, an East Jerusalem daily. Haniye, who has written eloquently on behalf of establishing a Palestinian state alongside Israel, has been charged with pro-P.L.O. political activities. The Israeli Supreme Court has given the Army until November 25 to prove its case. Immediate pressure on Israel might avert Haniye's expulsion.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

A REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

Facing South Africa

ANDREW KOPKIND

The epic drama of South African liberation promises scenes of sweeping emotion, heavy with historic meaning: throngs filling the streets, tanks converging on the capital, colonialism shrinking from the continent and the empire of the West in retreat. One day that play may run, but now the drama is only conceptual and the stirring scenes only fleetingly foreshadowed in raw moments of insurgency, displays of uncommon unity, and fantasies of power and justice long denied: miners marching from the pit, fists raised at too-frequent funerals, shots in the dark of the township night. Between those flares of feeling, daily life in South Africa seems strangely flat. In the white cities usual business and social relations are conducted with a deliberate aplomb that implicitly denies the looming upheaval. In the black townships the collapse of civic structures and the interruption of ordinary activities have produced a numbing normality, while the nightly fire fights and a permanent military occupation define a new repressive routine that is still short of unbearable. Survival and rebellion contend for the loyalty of the land.

The coexistence of the routine and the revolutionary infuses ordinary events, offhand conversations and casual observations with a situational irony and an air of absurdity that is utterly at odds with the realities of the crisis. White soldiers in battle fatigues climb out of their hideous armed personnel carriers in Soweto and kick a soccer ball around a dusty lot with black children in a spirited game that mocks and mirrors the deadly interplay of gasoline bombs and automatic weapons that is bound to come. A judge of a Supreme Court says with complete confidence over *moules marinières* at dinner in a posh white suburb that he fully expects to live under a black socialist government, sooner rather than later, and that his life should not be unduly disrupted, save for a bit of "inefficiency." On the state-controlled television channel one night last month viewers eagerly tuned in *V*, the American science-fiction series which is one of the most popular shows in South Africa. The weekly episode was described in the newspaper that morning:

> TV 4: 9:03. "Visitors' Choice". The Resistance stages a daring attack at a convention of Visitor Commanders where Diana intends to show off the ultimate device in processing humans for food.

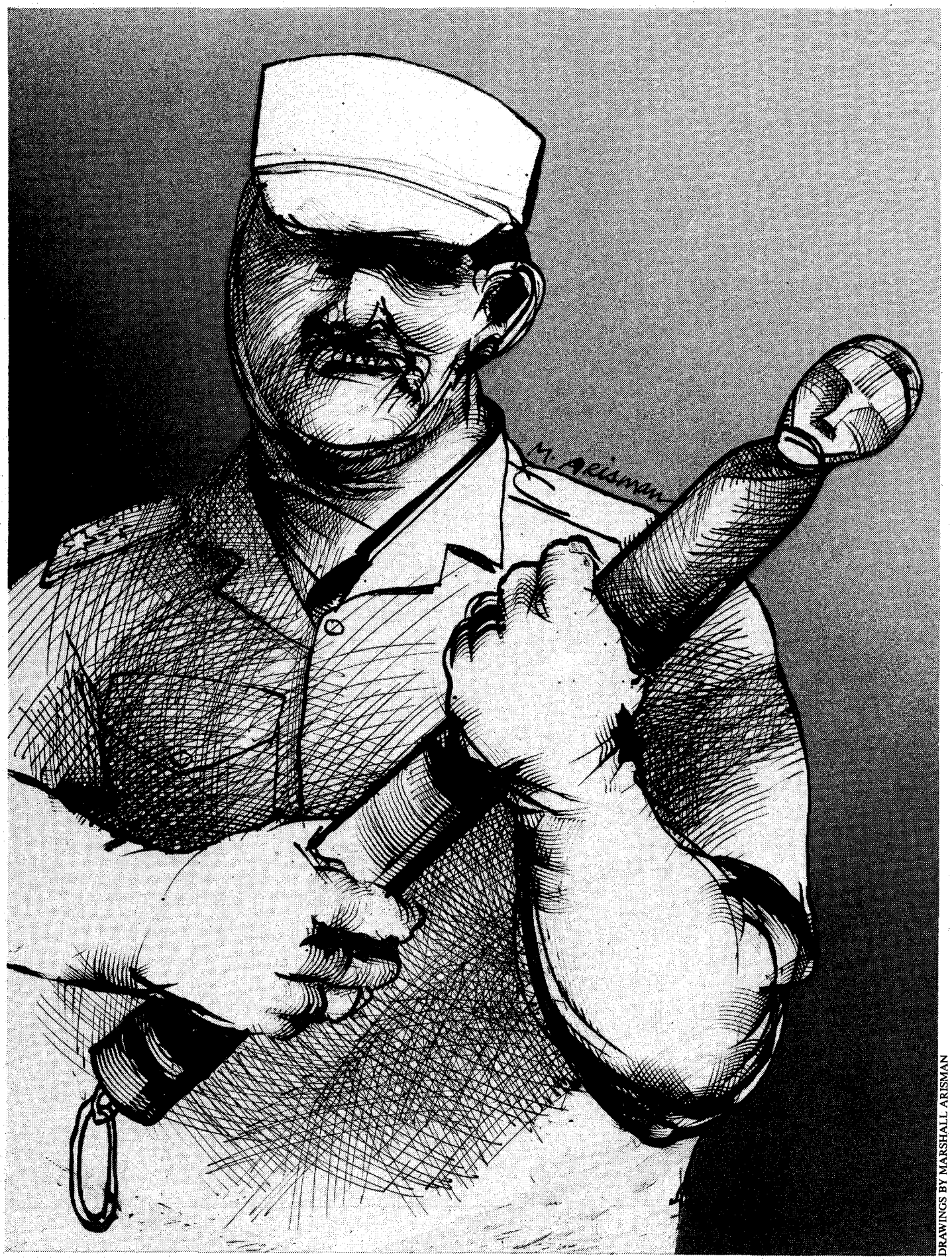
There are too many mixed metaphors here, too many discrepancies between the perceived and the potential, too many jokes that no one dares to get. The sense of irony is a consistent casualty of the segregated soul.

Not the least of apartheid's many dreadful accomplishments in only four decades of official existence—"no more than half the lifetime of a healthy man," a healthy 40-year-old sociologist remarked jauntily to me—has been its success in segregating its subjects' minds from the experience of their lives. Apartheid is expressed not only in the physical distance it places between communities, families and individuals but also in the psychological alienation it imposes on both its victims and its beneficiaries. Insulated by all the comforts of home and the luxury of the laager, whites, for the most part, do not recognize the monstrous mechanism on which their ease depends. Isolated for years from even contentious contact with the domineering minority, most blacks have not yet discovered the optimism that comes from direct confrontation with the oppressor. It's no wonder that the brutal banalities of the South African system go unnoticed and unremarked.

Apartheid fulfilled its primary mission of retarding the development of its own contradictions. The Afrikaner National Party, which constructed and continues to execute the system, saw to it that the potential opposition would be permanently divided and disarmed, deprived of education for independence, detached from domestic and foreign radical influences and drained of the expectation of change. But even the most pervasive totalitarianism has gaps, and history has a way of evading the most ingenious plans for its cancellation. The painfully slow, difficult walk to freedom, in author James North's phrase, has proceeded in fits and starts, past grave markers that serve as milestones: Sharpeville, Soweto, Crossroads.

But now the walk has speeded to a march, a trot, a ragged run in several directions at once. The gaps are opening and closing in rapid disorder, and fighters are more plentiful than martyrs, always a sign that struggle is overtaking victimization. The dense and remote townships and "homelands" nurture the growth of a militant grass-roots politics which at once parallels state rule and challenges its legitimacy. The conflation of class and color into single social castes, apartheid's proudest and most profitable achievement, has finally produced a sharply politicized, increasingly unified labor movement that is founded on the same identification of social and economic categories. The deprivations of blacks in the face of an abundance of cultural riches delivered to whites has finally created the most disruptive, sustained, nationwide protest campaign in apartheid's history. Even the reforms have prompted violent resistance against those who collaborate in their implementation. The result has been, at times, to make the black nation "ungovernable" for a white minority government that must now resort to repression and institutionalized terror to maintain "law and order." The official banning of the African National Congress has forced the organization to internationalize its strategy on both the diplomatic and the military

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



DRAWINGS BY MARSHALL ARISMAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

front; the imprisonment of authentic black leaders has made their situation synonymous with the social enslavement of black people, and thus has brought worldwide support for liberation.

A City Like Johannesburg

It takes a first-time visitor to South Africa only a short while to see that the old system is rapidly decaying as a new order has already begun to emerge. The revolution of the future is born while the routine of the past still holds. At the same time there is a revolution within the revolution, a contest to determine the relationships and construct the institutions of the new nation. Although its shape is very much in contention, its coming is certain; and it is the effort of creation that allows people to hope for change.

If in the industrial age, Hell could be described as a city much like Manchester, the postmodern version must be very close to Johannesburg. Certainly a feature of the contemporary Inferno is the chilling juxtaposition of comfort and despair, commerce and drudgery, without contact or communication. White Johannesburg, with a million and a half inhabitants, is a graceless sprawl which appears to have no characteristic charm but rather a synthetic, made-up quality, as if a generic North American city had been put together from a gigantic kit. Nature has not been artfully transformed but literally discarded in the ugly heaps of slag and detritus from a century of gold mining that loom like desolate mesas over the high plateau. Here are bits of Salt Lake City; there's a corner of Toronto; somewhere you can find pieces of Little Rock, St. Louis and San Diego. The recent relaxation of some rules governing "petty apartheid," which have allowed blacks from the far-off townships to shop, dine and attend to some business in previously restricted areas, has made downtown, as in so many North American cities, a center for lower-class consumption and middle-class management, a district of black shoppers and white office workers.

The white residential areas of Johannesburg are customarily called suburbs, although they are no more than development tracts within the municipality, like the well-known neighborhoods of Los Angeles. Nor are they communities in the anthropological sense, with complex social relationships; instead, they are districts of racial defense and economic convenience. Life there is focused on consumption at the local "hyper-markets," the huge fortresslike stores which stock food, clothing, big-ticket durables and everything in between under one roof and a single ownership, such as the omnipresent "Pick 'n Pay" chain. Even in the suburbs, whites rarely travel by foot. The sidewalks are left to the black maids, laborers and nannies, often wheeling white babies in carriages and strollers, as if to prepare them early for a vehicular adulthood.

Apartheid has worked many unique civic wonders, but the most surprising is the emptiness with which it has favored white Johannesburg. There are no movie lines, no waiting for restaurant tables, no housing shortage, no jostling crowds in the streets. Surely there is no other great city in the Western world where a driver can find a parking space on the busiest street in the heart of the city in the middle of the day. On the other hand, there is not much worth parking for: a bad lunch at a steakhouse appointed entirely in Formica, a browse through boutiques featuring what used to be in fashion, an inspection of the bookstores to see what publications have escaped the ban this month. The offices disgorge their affluent effluent at 5 P.M., and within a half-hour the desolation of the city is complete. As an early darkness descends, the smell of coal smoke from the home fires of Soweto drifts east with the prevailing winds. Black security guards on the sidewalks lean their straightback chairs against the building walls and wait. It is hardly Beirut or Belfast, but Johannesburg occasionally rocks to the sound of urban explosions—invariably produced by "Soviet-made limpet bombs," according to the government's Bureau for Information—and many whites prefer to spend their days in their suburban kraals rather than venture into town.

"My father teaches piano and he recently signed a three-year lease on a lovely large studio in downtown Johannesburg," a former Johannesburger living in Cape Town recounted to me. "But not one of his students will come there, not one! Parents will not let their children go into town for gratuitous errands."

There were two fair-sized bangs during the week I spent in Johannesburg. One came at midafternoon from an explosion in a medium-posh hotel on the edge of the city center, in the Braamfontein district near the University of the Witwatersrand. Wits, as it is called, is the leading Anglophone academic institution in South Africa. The bar and billiards room of the hotel were said to be student hangouts. An hour later, when I walked past the hotel, there were no visible signs of "unrest," as people say. I read about the explosion in the final edition of the afternoon Johannesburg *Star*, and it seemed to be forgotten by the next day. There was never an explanation, even a surmise, as to why the hotel was targeted.

The second bombing was far more disturbing to white Johannesburg. At 3 A.M. one Tuesday in late September another "Soviet-made limpet bomb" blew out the chimney of the home of Del Kevan, a white woman who was the housing director for the black "city" of Soweto. She lived in the suburb of Craighall Park, where the heirs of the old "Randlord" families now share the wealthy surroundings with more recently arrived merchants and professionals. No one was hurt. This time the press shivered with excitement, reporting the bombing as if it were some sort of sports statistic. "Mrs. Kevan has the dubious distinction of being the first northern white suburban terrorist target in the South African struggle that has claimed more than 2,000 lives in two years," one story put it. But why had fate, not to mention the A.N.C., the presumed limpet-pitchers, picked such a sympathetic victim?

"Mrs. Kevan is known in the town as an outspoken critic of the National Party and its policies and as a tireless worker for black rights," *The Star* wrote approvingly, pointing to her membership in the mostly Anglophone, mostly liberal, mostly white opposition Progressive Federal Party (P.F.P.).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But by the weekend a curious change of attitude seemed to suggest that the response to what the Bureau for Information routinely refers to as terrorism is somewhat more selective, even among groups at risk, than anyone would admit. *The Star*, usually a cautious voice, abandoned the "tireless worker for black rights" conceit and called Kevan the "Iron Lady of Soweto," who was "blamed for more than 23 deaths" in White City, a section of Soweto in which police fired on tenants who had been protesting their eviction by the housing authority for striking against rent increases. Kevan was mutating from Albert Schweitzer into Marie Antoinette.

"She was an insensitive bitch," a white woman told me after the opinion tide had begun to turn. The neighborhood scuttlebutt was that after the blast, Kevan thought first to take the curlers out of her hair before meeting the press, and then was concerned that her maid had failed to water the garden that day and it was looking dry and wilted.

"She's a neoliberal of the worst kind," the local informant continued, with a smile at her use of the Americanism. "Very P.F.P., very insensitive; she said she wanted to run Soweto on 'sound business principles' and that she would evict 'incorrigible' tenants who wouldn't pay the rent. So in the middle of the most serious social and political crisis of the time, when rents and housing are the main issues, she throws out the poorest people in the most wretched part of Soweto. She was unutterably stupid. Her 'sound business principles' caused the worst massacre since 1976 and the extension of guerrilla warfare to the northern suburbs."

"I'm glad they blew up her house," the angry neighbor concluded, and then she added, really as an afterthought, "but I hope they don't blow up mine."

Talking to reporters in her unwatered garden with her curlers tastefully removed, Kevan at first vowed that terrorists would never drive her from her job. But the next day she resigned from her job "to spare her neighbors" the inconvenience of living next to a target. Two weeks later *The Sowetan*, the daily tabloid for blacks in Johannesburg, ran an advertisement for the post of Soweto housing director. Its attractions included a yearly salary of 43,446 rand (about $20,000 at the official exchange rate, but worth twice as much in actual buying power), the use of an official car, education subsidies and extremely generous housing loans for the director's family.

The small war in Craighall Park highlighted a number of crucial but subtle factors in the general political conflict. Black Sowetans I met in the next few days were without exception pleased by the event, but more whites than I had expected supported the "Kevan-had-it-coming-to-her" position. The retaliatory message of the raid on Del Kevan's house was plain.

The night after the bombing I visited the home of a family in another suburb not far away—a pleasant house built fifty years ago and "fixed up" in the familiar upwardly mobile way. What distinguishes their setup from similar ones in Cambridge, Massachusetts, or Berkeley, California, is the eight-foot cement wall, the iron gates with remote-controlled locking, and the distinct sense of insecurity and impermanence in their lives.

Get the Big Picture.

SUBSCRIBE TO *AFRICA REPORT.*

Six times a year, ***Africa Report*** brings you authoritative, in-depth features on political and economic developments in Africa and on American policy toward the continent by on-the-scene correspondents and by the newsmakers themselves—Robert Mugabe, Desmond Tutu, Andrew Young, Jerry Rawlings, Sam Nujoma, and Vernon Walters, to name just a few. ***Africa Report*** goes beyond the coverage you get from the evening news and daily papers to give you the **BIG PICTURE**—analyses, opinions, and predictions on events in an ever-changing continent.

Don't miss the big picture in 1987! Subscribe today and receive a special bonus issue on South Africa.

AFRICA REPORT, America's Leading Magazine on Africa

Please enter my subscription as indicated below (six issues per year):

INDIVIDUAL

☐ $21/1 year — Regular Mail to Canada/Overseas Add $6 per year.
☐ $39/2 years — Air Rate Overseas: Add $24 per year.
☐ $56/3 years — First-class within USA: Add $7 per year.

☐ **INSTITUTION** Add $7 per year.

Bonus Issue
South Africa: The Year of the Ambuthu (Mar-Apr 1986)

Name_____
Address_____
City_____ State_____ Zip_____
Country_____
Total Amount of my order is: $_____
My check is enclosed.
Make check payable to: African-American Institute
and send to **AFRICA REPORT,** Dept. N
833 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Alan and Molly appear to be living a high veld version of the Big Chill. Children of the South African sixties, they work in socially useful places: she in a legal services office helping victims of apartheid and repression; he in an educational center in a black township. The black maid, who, out of deference to the egalitarian sensibilities of her patrons, is not required to live in, is nonetheless "absolutely indispensable" for child care and housekeeping. There is radical consciousness somewhere in their souls, but they choose not to call it up on the screen of their everyday existence.

"We all had Marxist education at Wits. We all read the *Grundrisse*, and some of us even went back to Hegel if we were doing philosophy," Molly said after the kids had been sent to bed. But that was then, and this is a very different now. The white left of the 1960s seems stuck in an old pattern of thought and action, and the black movement looks, to her, out of control. Winnie Mandela is "a loose cannon," young black activists lack "rigorous, analytical training," and even her weekly women's group (Alan calls it the "hen party") has run out of serious topics of conversation. "Now I just want to leave," Molly said with more desperation than I had yet heard in Johannesburg.

Alan seems to spend much of his family time resisting emigration, but it's clear that the issue has not been finally decided. With his dashiki and his new Volvo and his position at the head of an important institution of social mediation and personal betterment, he commands the high ground in a fascinating time of ferment, but he too suspects that things may be moving too fast. Alan's center just got a $450,000 grant from the U.S. Agency for International Development for "teacher upgrading" in Soweto. "No one's a virgin anymore around here," he remarked sheepishly. But a recent fund-raising trip to the United States resulted in failure; he was told that American foundations do not give money to white South Africans, that he should come back with some of his black associates. He seemed bitter at the rejection.

ITEM: Approximately one-third of the 8,500 persons detained last summer as a result of the declaration of a State of Emergency were under the age of 18.

The Weekly Mail, August 28, 1986

"Look," he said, pointing at a button which said "Divest Now." "I got this in New Haven, at the shantytown in the middle of Yale University. They call it Winnie Mandela City," he reported with amazement, and then stuck two fingers in his mouth and made a sound of disgust. "Arghhhh."

"Maybe if I wear it in Soweto I won't get necklaced," he laughed. Molly looked grim. "Not funny," she said.

As a social category the white left is narrow and shallow. At the liberal end are the well-heeled members of the P.F.P., the official parliamentary opposition, which has until recently accepted apartheid in its own party, has accepted the legitimacy of the racist state, and has accepted its marginal role as a permanent fraction of a minority. It is well regarded in the foreign liberal press but has no support in the black community of its own country. "Its position against sanctions makes it totally irrelevant to blacks," a radical white activist said. "Eighty percent of the people in Soweto have never heard of the P.F.P., and those that have look at the party with contempt." It has been strongest in defending the civil liberties of whites, particularly those who are banned or in detention. When thousands were arrested last June, the typical P.F.P. demand was that the list of detainees be alphabetized.

Party stalwart Helen Suzman, an authentic white hero and an activist for thirty years, became the darling of the American right wing last summer, when she argued against sanctions in *The New York Times Magazine*. But she is still fondly remembered as a "good human rights lady," who has removed herself from the rage of history. Between her writing of the article and its publication, her position in South Africa was undercut by the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group, which occupies the political space in the international context that the P.F.P. takes at home. The group came out for sanctions, against the Suzman line that economic collapse in South Africa would radicalize the black revolt and diminish the power of the labor unions, which she sees as a stabilizing force in South African politics. Earlier last year two leaders of the P.F.P., Frederic van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine, resigned from the party in dramatic speeches on the floor of Parliament; they have just announced the formation of a new policy research institute that presumably will join the extraparliamentary liberal opposition to the regime.

At the radical end of the white spectrum are those groups and individual activists who work outside the system and, to some degree, refuse to recognize its legitimacy. Many white leftists serve in important organizing and administrative roles in black trade unions (still a contentious issue in some units), and the United Democratic Front (U.D.F.), the leading legal black opposition group, has affiliates, such as the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, which are run by whites. The complement of Marxist, neo-Marxist and post-Marxist parties includes a strong Trotskyist contingent in the Cape Province and the pioneering, multiracial South African Communist Party, which, like the A.N.C. with which it is in effective coalition, is banned and exiled.

The number of whites who actively aid the A.N.C.'s military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is minuscule, but that there are any is quite remarkable. A 28-year-old white woman, Marion Sparg, was sentenced this month to twenty-five years in prison for bombing police and political targets in South Africa. She wore the A.N.C.'s colors to court: a black suit, green shirt and yellow ribbon. The judge said he could understand a black person's motivation for treason, but a white could not be excused. Yet blacks, however well they are understood by judges, are often executed under similar circumstances.

Some white radical groups direct their organizing efforts primarily toward other whites. These include the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (JODAC) and the End Conscription Campaign, a prime target of the regime's re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pression. The government is particularly upset when whites link up with blacks. Three women in JODAC's leadership were detained one night in September, and many draft organizers are virtually underground in South Africa, although they surface for meetings and rallies if the coast is clear.

The Market Theatre, a modest arts center in a restored warehouse near the central police headquarters in John Vorster Square, is a focus for the active white left and its black friends. Here the plays of Barney Simon, Percy Mtwa and Mbongeni Ngema, which in the past few years have created a kind of South African antiapartheid cultural chic in European and North American capitals, had their first productions. The art center includes a gallery which featured wrenching photographs and garish tortured paintings à la Francis Bacon, a bookstore with a good selection of permitted radical literature and a coffeehouse that put me in mind of Harvard Square in the early 1960s.

The audience one night at a benefit performance for JODAC evoked that same time and place. Studenty, unkempt, earnest and appreciative, the young crowd seemed too innocent for the crush of history and too eager to be part of it. There was a feeling of excitement, a yearning for commitment and, way in the background, a small sense of doom. We sank into seats marked with the names of their generous donors. My seat was named "Nestlé (S.A.) Ltd."; the one in front, "Nadine Gordimer." We saw mimes perform a symbolic confrontation between an Afrikaner and an African; we heard an awkward compère ask, "Why are we losing if there are so many of us here tonight?"; we listened to an overheated white band called Benny b Funk. Then, just after a set by the Lurch, the theater filled with tear gas from a hand-bomb exploded in the lavatory. The perpetrator, who was spotted in the lobby, was identified as a police agent. The smoke settled and the concert continued.

A week later another benefit cabaret, this time for draft resisters, was canceled in midperformance, following a series of right-wing threats. Many from the audience repaired to an agreeably integrated bar called Jameson's in deserted downtown Johannesburg, where the white left meets for beer and music on Friday nights. "It's a small town that way," an editor of *The Weekly Mail*, the house organ of that political constituency, remarked at the bar.

The View Toward Soweto

Apartheid has infiltrated the design, the activity and the very structure of Johannesburg to such an extent that it is almost impossible to see the black city from the white one, even from the tallest building or the highest hill. Riding into town from the Jan Smuts International Airport, I looked for a pattern of houses or streets that might coincide with my preconception of Soweto. Nothing fit. Later I drove in search of promontories from which I might see what used to be called the native location. But, in fact, everything in Johannesburg is oriented away from the South West Townships, whence the acronym for the biggest ghetto agglomeration, and toward the north and the east: from rooftop restaurants and observation decks the view toward

Israeli Arms Sales to South Africa Carry Two Messages. From Us.

To the white minority government, aware of Israel's strong support in the US, the word is "hold fast." To those under the gun in the townships, the message is that US opponents of apartheid can live with Israel's military support of Pretoria.

Israeli Foreign Affairs, an independent monthly report providing fully documented coverage of Israel's diplomatic and military activities beyond the Middle East, is a source of facts for those determined to clarify that message

$20* brings you a year of Israeli Foreign Affairs. Or send $2 for a sample issue.

Israeli Foreign Affairs
P.O. Box 19580
Sacramento, CA 95819

*Institutions $35. Overseas add $6 surface, $10 air mail. Back issues available.

The Nation, September 13, 1986

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF ACCURACY IN MEDIA

Michael Massing reports on how AIM has affected the practice of print and TV journalists and concludes that AIM is a paper tiger.

Alan Wolfe reflects on AIM's agenda and argues that it is more concerned with promoting right-wing ideology than with accuracy (or indeed with media).

$3 for single copies. Bulk orders: 10 to 49: $2 each; 50 to 99: $1.50 each; 100 or more: $1.25 each.

Send me _____ copies of The Rise and Decline of Accuracy in Media. I've enclosed $_____.*

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Mail check or money order to Nation Bulk Sales, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. *U.S. currency only. NY residents must add appropriate sales tax.

8642

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Soweto always seems to be blocked by a kitchen or a utility room, while the white northern suburbs are spread out beneath convenient belvederes. It is not much easier to get from one color-coded area to the other. A kind of wasteland separates the sections, bisected by freeways, squatters' camps, decaying urban strips or vacant acres blowing with the rust-brown sands of the high veld on which the city sits.

In the current State of Emergency, which was imposed by the government on June 12 specifically to suppress the new labor and grass-roots organizations, nonresidents of the townships need official permits to visit those areas. But the regulations are irregularly enforced, and it is still possible for foreigners with a vigilant eye and an evasive strategy to dodge the police patrols, the military roadblocks—and the knots of neighborhood warriors—to see what goes on in the black metropolis of South Africa.

Big green highway boards direct motorists to Soweto, but it is not necessary to have welcoming signs at the entrance, for the place is unmistakable. Endless tracts of drab brick matchbox houses flow over the gentle hills beyond the horizon. The main roads are roughly paved; some of the side streets are "previously paved" or, more likely, still made of dirt and gravel. The part of Soweto that contains the oldest townships may be no more than a half-hour from white Johannesburg, depending on one's means of transportation. In this section are the tidy enclaves nicknamed Beverly Hills, Prestige Park and Selection Park, where celebrities such as Winnie Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu live, and where the black managerial and professional miniclass, inaccurately called the black bourgeoisie, stakes its claim to a tolerably comfortable life under apartheid.

"Deep Soweto" lies far across the hills, and the trip from there to downtown could take an hour or more. Every day hundreds of thousands of Sowetans rise before the sun to start their trek into town to serve as maids and laborers, drivers and dishwashers, for the "madams" and the "baas." The journey back for those who do not "live in" is long and dark. Besides the matchbox families, some 40,000 men who originally came to town as "migrants" under temporary contract from rural Bantustans to work in menial urban jobs, are packed into hostels where they live for most of the year with only a few weeks' holiday to visit their own families.

One morning my companion and guide to Soweto, a social activist with the South African Council of Churches, drove through the sprawling township, dodging soldiers and policemen on some streets, avoiding groups of youngsters on others. On one corner, a small boy stooped as if to pick up an object; my companion told me to speed ahead.

"I thought it was a stone," she explained as she looked back. "It was only a ball."

We stopped at a hostel near the section of Dube where she grew up. Inside, eight men, ranging in age from 18 to 61, were sitting in the common room between the two bedrooms of the drab structure. The oldest man came from the area in the northern Transvaal, near the border with Zimbabwe,

CLASSIC REPRINT SERIES

THUNDER'S MOUTH PRESS

THE BIG SEA
Autobiography by Langston Hughes
Introduction by Amiri Baraka
$8.95 Paper 0-938410-33-4

"Hughes writes of the Harlem Renaissance with humor, urbanity, and objectivity."
— Richard Wright, The New Republic

I WONDER AS I WANDER
AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY
by Langston Hughes
paper. $9.95 0-938410-36-9

The Big Sea was the first volume of Langston's autobiography. The second volume, I Wonder As I Wander. Together, they are among the wisest, warmest, and most informative books to issue from Langston's pen, and by that to say from the Renaissance or any other literary movement.
— Amiri Baraka

THE LONLEY CRUSADE
A Novel by Chester Himes
paper. $8.95 0-938410-37-7
Author of Cotton Comes to Harlem

Mr. Himes undertakes to consider the ever-present subjective and subconscious terror of the black man, the political morality of American communists, the psychology of union politics, Uncle Tomism, and Jews and Blacks. The value of this book lies in its earnest effort to understand the psychology of oppressed and oppressor and their relationship to each other.
— James Baldwin

Order from Thunder's Mouth Press Box 780 • New York NY 10025

Want to support the struggle against apartheid?
Need information and resources?

CONTACT

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA
198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038
(212) 962-1210

We carry a broad range of publications on South Africa and the U.S. A complete literature list is available free on request. We operate a research center that can answer your questions about U.S. corporations. We publish newsletters for student activists and for those involved in the campaign to achieve state and municipal divestment.

Supporting the struggle for freedom in Africa for over 30 years.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which is now the "independent homeland" of Venda. His wife and family are still there, but he has lived as a migrant laborer in the same hostel since 1959, traveling "home" once a year at Christmas time. The teen-ager had been in the hostel for a year; shirtless and shoeless in the unseasonably cold morning (a rare snowfall had been predicted, but never came), he stood over a battered pot on a coal stove stirring a thin gruel of "mealie meal," a cornmeal porridge that is the staple food of many poor families. Another man sat at a wooden table reading *The Sowetan* by the dim light of a gray day filtered through a small dirty window. The hostels have no electricity, and only candles light the barren rooms at night.

"Things haven't changed since I came here," the man who had been reading said. That was twenty-five years ago. "The newspapers say it's getting better, but you can see for yourselves." Eight others who lived in the hostel were out of work; the eight men I met that morning were also unemployed, and thus technically illegal residents in the city. None thought there was much chance of finding jobs.

Living conditions in the better parts of Soweto may be no worse in some ways than in many poor sections of European or American cities (as the government often claims), but it is not only poverty that characterizes the townships. The distance, the restrictions and the alienation of apartheid have robbed these vast dormitories of any vibrancy. The schools, which have been boycotted off and on for more than a year, are mostly closed now by government decree. Many old-age homes are empty, their "unproductive" inhabitants having been shipped out to their assigned homelands to die. Children play around trash fires in the broken streets, small crowds wait at embarkation points for a bus or taxi to take them to town, and idle men hang around the gas stations that seem to be Soweto's principal commercial feature and social focus. At night the shebeens—shanty bars, often in the back rooms of houses—are loud and busy, but it is dangerous even for residents to be out late, what with the state security forces and the ever-present *tsotsis*, the local brand of muggers.

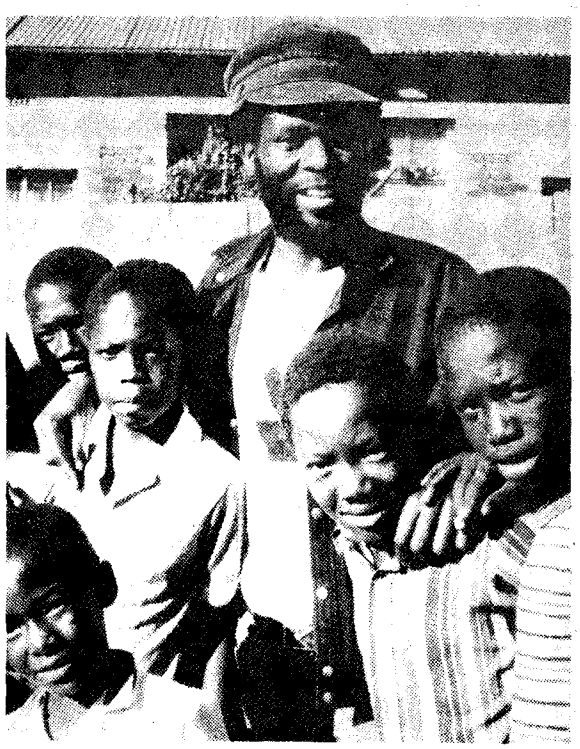
The "black-on-black" violence that the government and its supporters report with self-righteous outrage is to a large extent the product of apartheid. The burning of houses of the black elite, the necklacing of black police officers, the stoning and humiliation of the black local officials who stand in for the white government in the townships is a bitter crop in the harvest of oppression. The government both provokes the violence and then retaliates for it. Lately, a few pathetic shopping areas have been built in Soweto as part of the government's reforms in "community development," and there are still the old dilapidated stores where Sowetans can buy their odds and ends. But by and large there is no street life here, no visible sense of community, no air of expectation that's found when struggling people walk and work together. The collective spirit is expressed only in attacks against the occupying forces or in defense against the soldiers' murderous ambushes. As an anomie of affluence

A CALL FOR SOLIDARITY

Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the Metal & Allied Workers Union, is one of many trade union leaders and thousands of other activists detained without charge in South African prisons.

- **The UAW calls for solidarity with South Africa's independent black trade union movement.**
- **Demand the release of Mayekiso and all political prisoners. Write:**

P.W. Botha, President
Union Buildings
Pretoria 0001
Republic of South Africa



OWEN BIEBER
President

UAW

RAY MAJERUS
Secretary-Treasurer

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hangs over the white city, a social detachment born of deprivation permeates the black one.

ITEM: There is approximately one doctor for every 17,000 people living in the black "homelands."

The Apartheid Handbook, by Roger Omond

Soweto is said by the government to have a population of under a million, but everyone knows the figure is at least half again as large as that, and perhaps has already reached 2 million. There are so many people that the government is considering establishing a Norweto for the overflow. Plans currently call for a sand-and-gravel pit to be dug between the white city and the new township.

For many reasons, the government has stopped counting black inhabitants. Constrained by politics as well as logistics from clearing out all the "illegals" and unemployed in the greater Johannesburg area, as it still does regularly in more remote, less politically sensitive places, the government has come to take an agnostic view of the residential status quo, neither confirming nor denying its existence. Untold thousands of blacks without valid work permits have come to the urban townships from the Bantustans, where they are registered under the Group Areas Act, the cornerstone of apartheid's physical separation of the races. Thousands more remain in the townships after their migrant labor contracts have expired or after they have lost their jobs. The government has put the number of unemployed blacks nationwide at 519,000, out of a total black population of about 24 million. However, two labor researchers at Wits have just published a study that estimates black unemployment at 6 million, or 50 percent of the potential adult work force. The government knows, of course, that if "grand apartheid" is to be maintained and urbanization controlled, illegals and the unemployed who have already been assigned to a Bantustan must be shipped out of the cities.

Even more embarrassing than the presence of unwanted blacks in Soweto is the development of gray areas in Johannesburg and other cities, in which blacks, Indians and "coloreds" live alongside whites in open but unpunished contravention of the law. In the past the government razed sizable neighborhoods to maintain racial purity; a long struggle by local inhabitants to save the District Six quarter near the center of Cape Town was finally ended by the regime's bulldozers. Woodstock, another mixed-race gray spot in Cape Town, is slated for purification as an all-colored area. With the impenetrable logic that is a hallmark of National Party philosophy, P.W. Botha declared in October, "Woodstock must become colored because it is not a white area." Colored people should get "suitable areas" on the Cape Peninsula, he said, because "it is their habitat."

In Johannesburg, the Braamfontein section is effectively but unofficially integrated; so are the districts of Hospital Hill, Joubert Park and Hillbrow, the last a small area close to the city center which passes for a bohemian quarter insofar as it contains two coffeehouses, a bookshop, punky boutiques, several fast-food joints and an unusual racial mélange of young people strolling the sidewalks of two short blocks. In these few places economics has at least temporarily defeated segregation: faced with a serious housing surplus, some white landlords would rather break the color bar than lose their shirts.

"Urban problems," in the political vocabulary of white Johannesburg, is an unreal, Looking Glass category of expression. When a real estate tycoon named Marc Wainer made a speech urging the government to take action on the city's slums, I assumed he was talking about the worsening conditions in Soweto and the other black townships. But what he meant were those gray areas, in which, despite the Group Areas Act, people of all races are crowding, there to fall victim to high rents and decaying services. Wainer suggested that since prosecution and eviction were now practically impossible, the government should repeal the Group Areas Act, legalize racially mixed residency and "rely on market forces to solve the problem." In many areas large-scale evictions, by bulldozer if necessary, are still taking place, and millions of blacks have been forcibly relocated in one of history's most comprehensive programs of compulsory migration. In the bright glare of a Cape Town afternoon I watched white earthmovers relentlessly clear and smooth a large area of what was once the shantytown of Crossroads, leaving a great plain of bleached white sand where thousands used to live. But the structure of "influx control" and group areas is weakening, and the authorities are under pressure to accept the status quo and call it reform.

Our Homes Are Far

The South African government devotes considerable effort to promoting the notion that its problems are unique and that its affairs are misapprehended and erroneously reported. There is a kernel of truth in that claim, although not in the way the government pretends. Reporting from South Africa is usually either superficial or incomplete, and few journalists have the inclination to detail the development of the resistance, to analyze the complex and crucial political struggle within the broad opposition to apartheid, or to relate the process of change to the accelerating social transformation in the country. It's not surprising that visitors are uniformly unprepared for the perplexing contradictions, the urgent dynamics and the multiple textures of a titanic social upheaval.

"Don't just tell horror stories," a college teacher advised me on my first night in Johannesburg. "You'll just indulge the liberal love of victims. South Africans have been flogging victims for sympathy for years, all over the world. But the story now is that the victims are fighting back."

Not only foreigners and bleeding hearts sentimentalize the victims. The government often joins in the chorus of pity, as if to underscore its own compassion in bestowing reforms and social "upliftment." Certainly the government's allies in the Reagan Administration and the Thatcher Cabinet push the line that President P.W. Botha's schedule of incremental relaxations of apartheid will in time—if not soon enough for some impatient critics—reconcile all interests

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and groups in one harmonious, though perhaps confederated, South Africa.

But the view from the ground is quite different. Far from measured and deliberate, the Botha reforms are reactive and precipitous, provoked not only by spontaneous insurgency and general ungovernability in the townships but also by the radical extension of political and labor organizing in black, Indian and colored communities. And far from presaging an era of reconciliation, the policies of the so-called *verligte*, or enlightened, wing of the National Party are meant to buy time and a little social peace while political decapitation is practiced on the opposition.

There has been black resistance to white rule in the southern tip of Africa since the Dutch entrepreneur-settler Jan van Riebeeck came ashore at Cape Town in 1652, and the long account of European domination and African defiance makes one of history's most moving sagas. The myths and legends of white supremacy are enshrined in the grotesque Voortrekker Monument outside Pretoria, and promoted by Afrikaner nationalism to the exclusion of the hidden history of repression and revolt. But that other history, though hard to find in South Africa today, is not lost, and not long from now it surely will be heard. The particular, protracted period of "unrest" (it is curious that a more positive term is not in common usage) still gripping South Africa began two years ago, with community protests against housing conditions, evictions and rent increases in an area east of Johannesburg called the Vaal Triangle. Labor unions joined the demonstrations in an unprecedented show of worker/community strength. Protests are still going on in the cities and townships of that region. A few days after the Del Kevan bombing, guerrillas struck at the home of Nic Louw, another white housing administrator, for the black township of Lekoa, where the trouble started.

ITEM: The South African government spends seven times more per capita on the education of white children than on that of black children.

The War Against Children,
Lawyers Committee for Human Rights

But the antecedents of the current phase go back further, to the explosion in the black townships of Johannesburg in 1976 which made "Soweto" a worldwide household word. The traditional organizations of protest were either destroyed, banned or in low esteem. The African National Congress, which was founded in 1912 as a moderate protest group similar to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the United States, had not recovered from the devastating raid on its secret hideout in a farmhouse near Rivonia in 1963, from the long and draining trials of its leaders and their eventual imprisonment, and from its inevitable separation from political and intellectual developments in the townships of South Africa. Independent black unions had begun to link political and workplace agendas, but they were many years from becoming a unified force in national affairs. The most important factor in the resistance was the black consciousness movement, which also drew some inspiration from American sources, notably from the black struggles of the 1960s. Articulated by the charismatic Steve Biko, who later died in police custody, it had already attracted many young people but it offered no formal organizational structure.

Jimmy Mokoene is a young Sowetan who ran in the streets on June 16, 1976, that first horrible, wonderful day of the insurgency. "As a teen-ager I found black consciousness very appealing," he told me one morning as we were driving to meet his friends in another black township, about an hour from Johannesburg. "My father had been in the A.N.C. many years ago, but he became disillusioned after Sharpeville, in the early sixties. The A.N.C. then was weak. It talked about ending discrimination, it protested apartheid, but it had no power. It couldn't protect people who were protesting, it couldn't retaliate for massacres, it couldn't win any victories."

Black consciousness at least offered a theory of power, even if it did not then have a strategy for gaining it. The schoolchildren who left their classrooms in Soweto that early winter afternoon, who poured into the narrow side streets and wider avenues near the Beverly Hills homes of the black elite, protested the government's imposition of Afrikaans as the language of instruction in black schools. At a deeper level, however, they implicitly demanded an end to the hated, demeaning system of Bantu education, another mainstay of social stratification under apartheid. Soon it seemed that young people throughout the country were in the streets and that a new kind of resistance had been born. That would indeed come to pass, but not for many years. The schoolchildren's insurgency was broken, many were killed and many more imprisoned. Others became disillusioned with the possibility of effective political action in South Africa and went into exile in more congenial countries.

But repression created its own contradictions. The young "subversives" who were sent to Robben Island prison met the legendary A.N.C. and Pan-Africanist Congress leaders, who had been there for a decade, and began devising new revolutionary theories and strategies. "The Island" became "Mandela University." The "Class of '76" went in many directions. Several are now the leaders of the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), which blends black consciousness with revolutionary socialism. The Manifesto of the Azanian People was proposed in 1983 as an alternative to the A.N.C.'s Freedom Charter. AZAPO specifically objects to the A.N.C.'s middle-class alliances, its admission of whites to leadership positions and its theory of two-stage revolution—national liberation first, socialism later. The AZAPO militants think Nelson Mandela is out of touch with the tide of revolution that they detect somewhere in the sea of oppression.

Some of those who skipped the country in the 1970s found their way to A.N.C. headquarters in Zambia or to revolutionary centers in neighboring African countries. South Africa's regional subimperialism suffered a succession of disastrous defeats. In 1975 a South African military force was beaten back in a march on Luanda, the capital of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the newly independent Angola. That country and Mozambique became revolutionary strongholds on the South African frontier. Zimbabwe won its freedom in 1980, after a civil war that still has resonance for South African affairs. At about the same time a full-scale guerrilla war began in Namibia, which since World War I had been Pretoria's colony of South West Africa. White South Africa was in some ways stronger than ever, but it was more isolated as well, and isolation is a kind of weakness.

White South African society was also going through convulsive transformation. An economy that for a century had been based on mining and agriculture—the principal beneficiaries of the cheap labor produced by apartheid—was diversifying on a standard Western late-industrial model. Politically, apartheid was hindering South Africa's full entrance into the First World economic system of transnational finance and industrial conglomeration. Economically, apartheid blocked the emergence of a sizable class of black consumers, skilled workers, managers and bureaucrats. Socially, apartheid made both labor and civic peace problematic and threatened to destabilize the country. Ideologically, apartheid had split the white population—most significantly, the previously solid Afrikaans-speaking majority. (The "white tribe" is split roughly in the ratio of 60-40, Afrikaners to English.) Young Afrikaners were turning yuppie and assimilating the integrative values of the international Western business class: when racial pride came into conflict with social and economic stability, they easily chose the latter. Older Afrikaners had once welcomed apartheid because it reduced competition at the lower levels of the business world and thus gave them a boost in entering the middle class; but now many had made it, and their interests coincided with those of British international capital, against rigid regulation. "Deregulation," which in Europe and the United States signifies the removal of government constraints on economic transactions, in South Africa has the added meaning of deracialization in the name of efficiency, expansion and higher profits.

By 1978, when P.W. Botha came to power, it was obvious that the will to maintain apartheid on the strict basis established by the fanatical Hendrik Verwoerd only thirty years before had been broken in Afrikanerdom and had all but disappeared among English South Africans. However Botha's *verligte* faction within the reactionary National Party, purportedly devoted to modernization and reform, refused to accept the obvious consequence of dismantling apartheid, which is political rule by the black majority. Perhaps the most startling misconception brought by Western visitors to South Africa is the idea that most whites believe in the future of official segregation. In fact, there is a consensus that includes almost everyone except the small far-right of Afrikanerdom that apartheid is historically doomed. But there is absolutely no agreement about the process and date of its demise, or about the nature of its replacement.

Although analogies to American history and society are always dangerous in South Africa, it is not too far off the mark to compare the anachronistic patterns of segregation

ATTENTION SCHOLARS AND PRACTITIONERS!

Interested in addressing issues concerning law and social policy? We invite you to submit your articles on such topics as civil rights, environmental law, housing policy, etc.

Contact:
New York University
Review of Law & Social Change

719 Broadway, 5th Floor, New York, New York 10003
Attention: Senior Articles Editor (212) 598-3919

INTERFAITH CENTER ON CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY and TRANSAFRICA

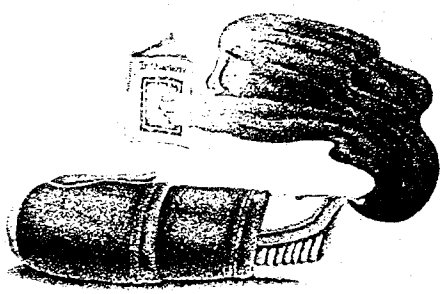
call for national protests on Human Rights Day (December 10) at 12 companies labeled "**partners in apartheid**":

Burroughs ● Chevron ● Citicorp
Control Data ● Fluor ● Ford
General Motors ● IBM ● Mobil
Newmont Mining ● Shell ● Texaco

For information about these companies and actions: ICCR, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 566, New York, NY 10115. (212) 870-2928.

TriQuarterly

Fiction • Poetry • Art • Criticism
Three times a year



"If there has been a consistently better American literary magazine than *TriQuarterly*, now in its 21st year, that conclusion would be hard to establish." — *Choice*

TriQuarterly
Northwestern University
1735 Benson Ave.
Evanston, IL 60201

Subscriptions:
• $16/year
• $28/2 years
• $150/life

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the American South thirty years ago to the outdated system of apartheid in South Africa today. In both cases, the managers of a new economic order pressured the managers of the political structure to seek a settlement before the crisis got out of hand. In the United States it was the urban and industrialized New South that accepted the inevitability of integration. In South Africa it is the great English-owned industries, led by Harry Oppenheimer's gargantuan Anglo American Corporation. Demographics decree that while the American black movement can be permanently categorized as a campaign for civil rights and a plea for assimilation, the South African effort must be nothing less than a struggle for power.

After the aborted insurgencies of 1976 the first force to re-enter the struggle and take advantage of the crisis in white society was organized black labor. The government reacted decisively against its expanding role with a series of arrests and repressive measures in the late 1970s, and leadership passed to a new and unlikely place, the communities of color at the lowest grass-roots levels.

Local organizing intensified in response to a set of serious government attempts at co-optation masquerading as serious efforts at constitutional reform. A 1983 referendum established a tricameral legislature, with the two new chambers comprising representatives of the Indian and colored "ethnic groups," or "tribes," in Afrikaner propaganda. Apartheid would not be modified. Race-registration ("the tatoo on the arm," I heard it called), Group Areas Act assignments and influx control were untouched. Only whites were allowed to vote for the new Constitution, which passed overwhelmingly. Indians and coloreds were then supposed to elect representatives to their separate legislative houses, which would have only advisory power, since the white government would retain final approval of all laws.

Instead of voting, however, the two groups decided to boycott the elections. It is estimated that 80 percent of the eligible voters of both constituencies ignored the government's entreaties, and in highly politicized districts the boycott was virtually total. The anti-election sentiment was developed through a determined campaign by Indian and colored activists, particularly in Natal and the Cape Province, where those two communities are concentrated.

ITEM: This year the Republic of South Africa will spend $1.9 million and use 625 miles of fencing to enclose the black "homelands."

The Weekly Mail, May 23, 1986

Both traditional politics of defiance and the newer black consciousness movement informed the anti-elections campaign. Although Indians, most of whom speak English as their home language, and coloreds, whose mother tongue is traditionally Afrikaans, enjoy certain privileges not granted to black Africans under apartheid, they exist within the same oppressive caste system as black Africans. Black consciousness made an impact on the other communities in the years before the constitutional change, to the point where Indian and colored activists felt completely comfortable referring to one another as "black." There are significant economic differences between the various black communities. Half the Indian population of about a million is involved in or dependent on small trading, while most black Africans are urban laborers, miners or agricultural workers. But the coalition to resist the sham reforms bridges class and ethnic lines, and out of this broad campaign the United Democratic Front was created. (There are white workers, and increasing numbers of unemployed whites, but there is no significant lower class of whites whose standard of living is comparable to that of most blacks.)

Fatima Meer, a veteran Indian activist and university professor in Durban, a seaport in Natal, contributed to building the campaign against the elections. We spoke one afternoon in the living room of her house, which seemed like something between a Singapore motel and Southern California ranch house. Multicolored bougainvillea, Chinese camellias and English roses garnished the front lawn, and far below the hilltop perch the city stretched out to the Indian Ocean beaches—marked by signs saying "Bathing Area for Coloured Community" and, in Afrikaans, "Baaigebied Vir Kleurlingsgemeenskap."

Until 1984, Indians "had been in a kind of political trough in the struggle," Meer said. "Then the government arrested a lot of people for treason, and that created a focus for protest. The government creates a lot of issues in this country. If it hadn't arrested trade union leaders, if it hadn't arrested those leaders for treason, there would not have been the protest. We can always count on the government to act stupidly."

Meer was banned for several years in the 1970s, and her husband, she explained, was "banned for life" as a "named Communist." When I was in Durban the local weekly Indian community paper, *The Leader*, was publishing a series of fascinating memoirs of political life in Natal in particular and South Africa in general, under the byline of A.C. Meer. I asked whether that was a relative.

"That's my husband's brother," Meer said. "My husband is not allowed to publish or be quoted under the banning order." Then she smiled and poured more tea. I had already guessed that coyness was an age-old route around apartheid.

While Botha and the National Party reformers were plotting to set the several ethnic groups against one another, they were also devising ways to co-opt and divide important sectors of the black African community. Creation of "tribal" enclaves encouraged aggressive ethnicity and petty despotism, as in the case of the tin-pot dictatorships of Ciskei and Transkei as well as in the far more ominous rise of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi in the KwaZulu sections of Natal. Buthelezi's fiefdom is a jumble of districts that seem scattered on the map of the coastal province like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle that will never fit together. Clever and dangerous, he runs it like a Chicago ward heeler or a Mafia thug, which probably accounts for his popularity with U.S. politicians looking for an ally in South Africa. He has been rak-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing in money and support from the United States, West Germany and Israel for his various activities: his Inkatha movement, a sort of Cook County machine on the Indian Ocean; the United Workers Union of South Africa; and sundry economic development schemes.

In the townships, divide-and-rule took another turn. Successive changes beginning in the 1970s established different kinds of black municipal authorities, presumably paralleling the spurious structures of home rule for the rural homelands, which would put black faces in official positions and keep overall power in white hands. One such scheme set up Black Authorities. When it became clear that the authorities commanded no allegiance or respect, they were transformed into elected councils. But what if they held an election and no one came?

"We were all supposed to vote in 1982," a woman told me when I visited Orlando West, one of the older sections of Soweto. "But only 6 percent of Soweto turned out, and they were mostly pensioners, who were told they'd lose their pensions if they didn't vote. The pensioners get about 60 rand a month, and they pay 42 rand for rent, so you can imagine they will do anything to survive."

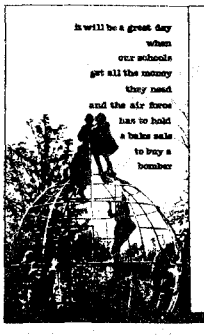
The campaign against the councils generated the sort of grass-roots organization in the black townships that the anti-elections drive started among Indians and coloreds. Those first movements approached a critical mass when housing and educational issues were joined to the constitutional ones, and the difficult drive for independent black labor unions was renewed.

The U.D.F. easily became an umbrella for the new coalition. Acronyms began to proliferate. Reporters arriving in South Africa need a tip sheet to tell COSATU from FOSATU, CUSA from UWUSA, COSAS from NUSAS, MAWU from FAWU, AZAPO from AZASO from AZASM, ECC from DPSC from NECC from SACC—and the differences are usually important. Emboldened by the growing expectation of change and the support of a large and powerful coalition, an extraordinary number of young people and previously apolitical township residents formed street committees, block committees, area committees, school committees, parents' committees, pupils' committees. Every imaginable category of organization was filled, in a breathtaking display of democratic activism at its broadest.

The creation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), only a year ago, was a political event at least as important as the establishment of the U.D.F., with which it now has solid ties. Until 1979 independent black unions were not legally recognized by the government, but as pressure from workers increased, the more "modern" captains of capital argued that concessions to labor demands were necessary for industrial and social peace, and the government gave in.

"It was stupid for a basically repressive government to allow free trade unions in this context of growing unrest," said a prominent judge rather noncommittally. "It guarantees polarization, radicalization, politicization of the working class, which is the last thing they want."

Like the community organizations, the politically power-



posters — notecards
t-shirts
for your free catalog and membership information write:
Women's International League
for Peace and Freedom
1213 Race St Philadelphia, PA 19107
(215) 563-7110

Victory in South and Southern Africa!
N.Y. ANTI-APARTHEID COORDINATING COUNCIL
200 labor, religious, community and student groups working together for divestment, sanctions and in support of the freedom movement against apartheid.
c/o District 65-UAW, 13 Astor Pl., New York, NY 10003
(212) 673-5120

JUST RELEASED!
Sisterfire!
1984
THE ALBUM
SWEET HONEY IN THE ROCK • ALEX DEVEAUX
CRIS WILLIAMSON • JANE SAPP • MOVING
STAR HALL SINGERS • HOLLY NEAR • CATHY
FINK • RONNIE GILBERT • AMPARO OCHOA •
FLORA MOLTON • ALICIA PARTNOY • Reel
REEL WORLD STRING BAND
Send $8.98 for LP or cassette + $1.00 handling (+ $.35 for additional items) to Roadwork, Inc., 1475 Harvard St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009

ATTACH MAILING LABEL HERE
MOVING?
Don't miss a single issue of THE NATION.
New address:
Name
Street
City
State Zip
Mail to: THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305
Please allow 6-8 weeks for processing.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ful unions have a tradition of democracy and shop-level decision-making that is unusual in contemporary labor history. "COSATU may be unique in the world," said Alec Erwin, the federation's educational secretary, when we spoke in Durban. "The senior officials are still in their workplace jobs. The president, Elijah Barayi, is a shop steward in the mines. The first vice president, Chris Dlamini, is a shop steward at a Kellogg's plant. Because the leadership is identical with the base, we've broadened the political and economic struggle."

The power of the unions was demonstrated in September when 177 black miners and five white supervisors were killed in an accident in a gold mine owned by the Gencor Corporation at Kinross, about sixty miles east of Johannesburg. Mining, which for a century has been the most profitable enterprise in South Africa (now accounting for about 50 percent of its foreign currency receipts), is also the most hazardous. The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), a leading member union in COSATU, figures that almost 50,000 workers have been killed since gold was discovered under what is now Johannesburg in 1886. Although in most countries unionized miners make more than workers in safer industries, South African miners receive less than the minimum manufacturing standard wage. NUM officials chuckle ruefully when they hear about Harry Oppenheimer's latest apartheid reform proposal, or about an Anglo American executive's "courageous" visit to Zambia to talk with the A.N.C.

"If Harry really worried about the condition of blacks in South Africa, he'd raise his miners' wages," a white union economist said. As it happened, 30,000 miners went out on strike in October, when negotiations broke down over an increase that would bring wages in line with inflation, now running at close to 20 percent annually. The miners' real income has fallen slightly in the past ten years.

The 600,000 black miners who produce South Africa's wealth are almost all migrants from their homes in the Bantustans or in neighboring countries: Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi. A man who lives near a mine site cannot walk into a hiring office and apply for a job; he must sign a contract (usually for a year), leave his family, travel long distances and live in a company hostel until his "join" has expired. There is no guarantee that he will be able to get another contract. In some places the miners are not allowed to leave their compounds during the work year; in others they may stroll to nearby townships on their day off, and some have girlfriends who work as maids and live in the white towns where the mine managers stay. The couples get together for a few hours every week, when it is convenient for the maid's "madam" and if the furlough time coincides with the mining schedule.

"It's not Harlan County," Martin Nichol, a labor researcher at the University of Cape Town, said wistfully. When Gencor fired 20,000 workers for striking at its mine in Bophuthatswana, an "independent" homeland where the infamous Sun City is located, NUM was unable to get them their jobs back. The vast labor pool, the drastic unemploy-

TIKKUN

A QUARTERLY JEWISH CRITIQUE OF POLITICS, CULTURE, & SOCIETY

- **TODD GITLIN** takes on ABC TV's right wing offensive. ABC will be drowning prime-time in February with 14 hours of a mini-series on the U.S. after it has been conquered by the Soviets. Gitlin analyzes the script.
- **ABBA EBAN** on The West Bank. Eban critiques the right-wing approach and asks Americans to rethink their understanding of contemporary problems in Israel.
- **COMPASSION AS HARDBALL POLITICS.** *Tikkun*'s editor Michael Lerner shows how liberal and progressive social movements could appeal to the deep psychological needs of the American public without adopting right wing programs.
- **THE INTENT OF THE FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION.** Ed Meese's theory is deconstructed by law professor Mark Tushnet. And in a separate essay by Critical Legal Studies theorist Peter Gabel entitled "Founding Father Knows Best," we present a phenomenlogical/psychoanalytic account of how right wing movements speak to the unconscious.

PLUS: A real debate on Nicaragua (with Ronald Radosh, Aryeh Neier, Robert Leiken & Bill Leogrande) and a profound new poem by Marge Piercy; a feminist critique of Christopher Lasch from Lillian Rubin and a socialist critique by Richard Lichtman with a response from Lasch. And articles by Judith Plaskow, Alan Wolfe, and Morelle Bar-On.

SUBSCRIBE NOW: and we will give you a 10% reduction in cost: 4 issues for $18. Or you can subscribe for 8 issues at a cost of $34. Or send $48 for 12 issues, and we will send you FREE a copy of Michael Lerner's just released book *Surplus Powerlessness* (list: $9.95). Check to: Tikkun, Subscription Dept., 407 State St., Suite N1, Santa Barbara, CA 93101.

As you can see, TIKKUN is much more than "a liberal alternative to Commentary"—and it is not just for people interested in Jewish issues. TIKKUN is for anyone who wishes to keep in touch with the most exciting developments in the life of the mind.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment rate and the availability of workers in neighboring countries attached to South Africa by its deliberate strategy of underdevelopment and dependence have made successful union actions difficult.

But the Kinross accident galvanized black labor throughout the country. The release of toxic gases which had killed the miners was apparently caused by the use of plastics that the company had known were unsafe; they had already been banned in British and American mines. The workers did not view the incident as a simple managerial or technological failure. They quickly and naturally made the connection between an economic system that encourages unresponsive management and a political structure that suppresses workers' demands for representation and power.

I saw the often abstract connection of workplace and political demands come to life a week after the accident, when thousands of miners trooped to a memorial service-cum-protest rally in a scruffy soccer stadium in a black township near the Kinross mine. A blustery wind came out of a hot, clear sky and blew the orange dust of the veld in everyone's eyes and nostrils, but the miners' spirits were higher than the wind. For an hour or more, while the speakers were assembling, the men danced up and down the running track around the field. They threw their friends, the heroes and survivors of the disaster, above their heads, and once they put a rubber tire around someone's neck, as a laughing, living symbol of what was in store for their foes. (A photograph of the mock necklacing appeared in the Johannesburg newspapers the next day, and whites, needless to say, were not amused.)

As the miners danced they sang work songs with plaintive wide harmonies and infinitely repeated phrases:

The workers are crying
They want to know
Why is it like this?
Why is it like this?

Kutheni makunje-nje?
Kutheni makunje-nje?

Our homes are far—
Our homes are far—

Emakhaya kukude—
Emakhaya kukude—

NUM's general secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, probably the most politically powerful labor leader in South Africa, exhorted the miners to fight for safety and freedom. "Viva NUM! Viva!" the crowd chanted. Jay Naidoo, the secretary general of COSATU, sought support for a nationwide schedule of union actions and demonstrations in memory of the miners. "Viva COSATU! Viva!" Elijah Barayi, who seemed to be between detentions and was still "restricted" under special State of Emergency orders, nonetheless appeared. A young man who led the protest against forced relocation in a nearby township came to the microphone wearing a paramilitary uniform rather like a generic guerrilla suit. His soft cap had a red star in front, and he waved his arms wildly as

SOUTH AFRICA–for your classroom or at home.

Photo: Steve Barber/Afrapix

The most widely used source of films and videos on apartheid in the world, including...

WITNESS TO APARTHEID, MANDELA, WOZA ALBERT!

and many others

"The Southern Africa Media Center allows you to reach out and close the distances of apartheid. Spend an evening in community with those of us fighting for our freedom."

--Archbishop Tutu

For a free catalog, contact:

SOUTHERN AFRICA MEDIA CENTER

California Newsreel, 630 Natoma St., San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 621-6196

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he shouted freedom slogans. He pointedly had not been introduced by name and was referred to only as "comrade." Overhead, a military helicopter hovered near the speakers' stand, a video camera protruding from the cockpit. Beyond the stands were dozens of *casspirs*, the troop carriers filled with state security forces and South African police holding submachine guns.

Then, "Amandla!" "Viva Mandela! Viva!" "Viva A.N.C.! Viva!" Winnie Mandela came to the microphone. She wore a long green robe and a turban of the same cloth. Up went her clenched fist. There was no doubt that she was the crowd-pleaser.

Like all the speakers, Mandela easily interchanged political rhetoric with union slogans. "Safety" and "freedom," "liberation" and "wages," meant the same thing. What one labor organizer called "the $64,000 question" is, How far can that rhetorical unity be carried? That is, Can the workers' movement assume the consciousness of the liberation struggle? Winnie Mandela seemed sure it could. Speaking alternately in Xhosa and English, she exclaimed: "Fifty thousand miners have died in the mines since Johannesburg was founded. It's time to impose sanctions on this unjust, immoral, un-Christian and undemocratic country. The U.K. and Ronald Reagan's America told South Africa not to use the plastic that caused these miners to die. There will be a day when we will say, This is the last day; we are taking over."

From Resistance to Revolution

How will it end? South Africans do not often pose that question to one another, perhaps fearing the wrong answer, or no answer at all. When outsiders ask, their hosts—black or white—often retreat into exquisite analyses of political relationships, social conditions and ethnic rivalries. Occasionally, at the end of a long conversation, a South African will venture what amounts to a guess about a development somewhat short of the final scene of the current drama. "I'd bet that some sort of negotiations are in the cards within the next three years," a canny COSATU official said.

When will it end? is a related but separate question. The answer depends on one's interests or political agenda. The young AZAPO leaders I met in a black township outside of Johannesburg were sure—perhaps even hopeful—that radical change was so far in the future that there was still plenty of time to organize the proletarian/black-consciousness vanguard party that is their project. At the other end of the social string, two white workers in the fashion industry I chatted with in Cape Town thought that there would be majority rule in South Africa, but "many generations after we're gone, when the blacks get enough education so that whites will feel equal to them."

"None of us see revolution around the corner," the white woman who heads the Cape Town local of the black transport workers' union said. Three organizers in her office agreed. "How do you move from spontaneous resistance to a more organized struggle?" she continued. "What we're seeing now is the 'boiling pot strategy.' But South Africa is not a banana republic; this will not end with millions milling in the streets."

There are two contradictory consequences of the slow pace of change. On the one hand—a favorite South African formulation—dreams deferred produce radical solutions. On the other hand, every month of postponement gives the government, the ruling whites and foreign interests more opportunity to pursue its three-pronged strategy of survival: co-optation, reform and repression.

The long-range goal of co-optation has been to create a class of black mediators—the black bourgeoisie, bureaucracy and managerial class—with a stake in the system, and to find black leaders who will promote "orderly change." Among the current candidates for front-man, Gatsha Buthelezi is the favorite of the "Western democracies." He has been receiving payments from a secret Christian Democratic Party fund in West Germany that also bankrolls President José Napoleón Duarte of El Salvador, probably with recycled C.I.A. dollars. He is a popular visitor to Israel, which is economically active in the Bantustans and the South African diamond industry and which has a history of shameless military and strategic relations with the National Party regime. He was clearly the candidate of the outgoing U.S. Ambassador to South Africa, Herman Nickel, who almost got Buthelezi to fly to Washington to lobby against sanctions. If there is black civil conflict after liberation, Buthelezi would be the State Department's "Jonas Savimbi" figure. The covert action branch of organized labor in America has been actively supporting the Zulu Chief through the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s African-American Labor Committee, a notoriously meddlesome vehicle for ideological intervention.

Buthelezi is sometimes referred to in South Africa as "our Muzorewa," a not very flattering description. The comparison is with Abel Muzorewa, the deluded black Methodist bishop in Rhodesia who served as President in a white-run, jury-rigged regime that held off the more radical black Popular Front for a brief period. Bishop Muzorewa, like so many failed *contras* of the past, is now doing God's work in the United States.

No one believes that the reform process as it is now conceived will permanently stave off the fateful day, but it is taken seriously as a strategy if not a solution. Concessions have been offered to blacks, after bitter struggle, in ways that will continue and even widen social apartheid. Relaxing pass laws and restoring some citizenship privileges to urban blacks pits them against migrants and residents of the Bantustans. Allowing some prosperous families to own houses or to take out expensive ninety-nine-year leases ties them to their salaried jobs in white-owned businesses and sets them apart from the vast majority who could never afford to buy. Creating black councils for the townships provides a new focus for organizing and new objects of community wrath; few council members still live in their districts, at least not openly, for fear of violence or arson for their collaboration.

"The government can't successfully co-opt without giving the people something," explained Nicholas Haysom, a leading left-wing lawyer. "The minimum demand is universal adult suffrage in a unitary state, and anyone who negotiates less than that is going to be considered a sellout.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What the government is offering is so little and so late that the whole effort is doomed to failure. If all the reforms of the last ten years were given all at once, it might have worked. A lot of petty apartheid is crumbling every year. We used to say that the Immorality Act [prohibiting interracial sexual relations and mixed marriages] would never be abolished because it was the racist basis of apartheid. Well, it went, and people can't remember why it was there in the first place. Group areas will go too, and a lot of coloreds and Indians will move into white areas; some inner-city flats will be integrated, but that's all. Those bastions go, but the structure of white power survives."

Louis le Grange, until recently the Minister of Law and Order, told a provincial congress of the National Party last month that there will surely be a revolution "unless blacks are given their place in the sun." The townships are "often so decrepit," he said, "that it's no wonder they want to throw stones whenever they see a police or an official in their area." The government has spent "millions of rands for upgrading townships and training people, but we have to apply security measures along with social upliftment."

ITEM: 55 percent of all deaths among South African blacks occur between the ages of 1 and 5.

American Committee on Africa

Security in South Africa is tailored to its peculiar political configuration. Law is for whites, and order is for everybody else. The State of Emergency is directed primarily at the communities of color; it aims at cutting off their contacts with whites. The press's rhetoric is not egregiously restricted; the English-language newspapers seem, as a whole, to be more critical of official policy than their counterparts in the United States. But information is of more strategic value than criticism, and is more efficiently repressed.

The Weekly Mail provides the most consistent news and analysis of what it calls "the system and the Resistance." Started in June 1985 by former staff members of the defunct *Rand Daily Mail*, it has a circulation of about 17,000 and is considered required reading by white activists and intellectuals, as well as by blacks who relate to them politically. It survives by steering between the gaps in the government's repression, editor Anton Harber said, and if it just manages to scrape by financially, it maintains a high level of professionalism and, as important, a high degree of social legitimacy.

Its first issue, devoted to discussing the State of Emergency, was, as Harber put it gently, "quite cheeky." The front-page headline proclaimed: "Our lawyers tell us we can say almost nothing critical about the Emergency. But we'll try." Every article in the paper was heavily censored with blocks of black ink over the words. The cheekiest feature of all was a centerfold containing a list of hundreds of "persons known to be in detention" in the first week of the Emergency. Every name except one, unaccountably, was blacked out. "The restrictions will be worse the next time," Harber predicted.

Statistics on detention are compiled by the Detainees' Parents Support Committee and are published each week in *The Weekly Mail*'s "Apartheid Barometer" column. Max Coleman, the activist-statistician of the State of Emergency, estimates that more than 20,000 people have been detained in the first five months of this year's roundup.

About 75 percent of the detainees are members of the U.D.F. affiliates, and many of the others are associated with independent unions, student groups and community committees. None are charged with crimes; they are held incommunicado and may be questioned, threatened or even physically abused without much chance of judicial redress. Tens of thousands of potential detainees have gone into hiding rather than wait for the knock on the door, and Max's wife, Audrey, who runs the support committee's office, suspects that there are "hundreds or thousands of kids living in the mountains." While I was in her office in Khotso House, a center of white support and church assistance in Johannesburg, a succession of black teen-agers and distraught parents came through looking for help. Audrey Coleman advised one young student activist from Soweto: "You'd better not stay at home. Sleep at friends' houses. You're in a bad situation." The Colemans' own son was detained in 1981 for editing a student protest organization's newspaper.

The State of Emergency was declared by the government when the Indian and colored chambers of Parliament refused to consider its proposed restrictions in time to contain the expected protests last June on the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising. Even puppet legislators sometimes read the graffiti on their walls. But emergency laws represent only one element of the government's repressive program, and other restrictions are already in place that will do the same job, with less international visibility.

The Deepening Drama

Of the organized elements of the resistance only the African National Congress has the political resources and the broad authority both inside and outside South Africa to represent the black majority in the next period. Its Freedom Charter, adopted in 1955, is a kind of declaration of independence from apartheid and contains no specific program for the social order that will follow liberation. But it remains the statement of purpose for the strongest organizations and most effective activists in the country. The U.D.F., a principal "Charterist" group, was formed with organizational help and political guidance from the A.N.C. It has a virtual monopoly on the strongest symbols of national liberation: the A.N.C.'s black, green and gold colors; the Mandelas; the Freedom Charter; Umkhonto we Sizwe; and the A.N.C. itself.

Allan Boesak, a founder of the front, was a leader of the colored community's branch of the Dutch Reform Church in Cape Town and has impeccable links, as people say, to the A.N.C. COSATU, the other important stream of resistance, has a more independent history, and there are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tendencies within it that may be at odds with the developing A.N.C. strategy. There is a probably apocryphal account of COSATU secretary general Naidoo's first meeting with A.N.C. President Oliver Tambo in Harare, Zimbabwe. The first thing Tambo said after the two men shook hands was, "You're not going to start a 'workerist' movement, are you?" In the sectarian babble to which South African politics occasionally descends, "workerism" means putting the interests of labor unions ahead of the broad revolutionary front. Naidoo is reported to have reassured him. For the foreseeable future, COSATU is Charterist.

The A.N.C. leadership has traveled widely in southern and eastern Africa since it was forced underground, in the early 1960s. It has survived South African military assaults in foreign countries, diplomatic intrigue and death squads. Several members have been killed or kidnapped by South African agents in Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana—the former British High Commission Territories which are independent by international law but heavily reliant on South Africa. It was damaged by the Nkomati Accord of 1984, in which the late Mozambican leader, Samora Machel, surrendered support of the A.N.C. for a promise of peace from the war with the South Africa-backed rebel army.

The A.N.C. is listed in the slim Zambian telephone directory, and one can make an appointment with a simple request over the phone. Visitors are then instructed to take a taxi to a certain curio bazaar in the center of the city; behind the shop is an iron gate; knock loudly.

In fact, there are a whole series of barriers behind the bazaar. After several false starts in which I screamed out A.N.C. names to unseen listeners, I found the right entrance and was escorted with suspicion by a group of men into the compound. On two sides of a dusty courtyard were low buildings divided into small rooms, like a rundown motel in a Mexican border town. On the third side was an eight-foot cement wall topped with shards of broken bottles. On the fourth side was the alarmingly penetrable gate. Less than five months earlier, South African bombers had attacked the compound, killing several Zambians and causing considerable damage.

The reception room was undecorated except for two framed photographs, of President Tambo and of Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda. A boy in his early teens sat behind a desk with a telephone and a guest register. I signed in, and the boy offered me a copy of the morning paper. He used his left hand, which had no fingers and only part of a thumb; his right hand was missing and the end of his arm was wrapped in a fresh white bandage. A lizard climbed the wall in back of President Kaunda's picture. While I was waiting to speak with officials of the organization, the gates opened again and a Mercedes stretch limousine drove into the courtyard, flags fluttering on either side of the gleaming black hood. A formally dressed Asian man stepped out of the back seat and was greeted by an African man in a torn T-shirt and rumpled trousers. The Asian man bowed; the two shook hands and walked into one of the small rooms. "It's the Japanese Ambassador," the boy at the desk said, with a touch of pride.

NATION REPRINTS

The Selling of Miss Liberty

The article that broke the story. Roberta Brandes Gratz and Eric Fettmann reveal how major corporations, under the direction of Lee Iacocca, took over the statue restoration for publicity and profit, mismanaged the project and excluded the American public. *(November 7, 1985)*

K.A.L. 007: What the U.S. Knew And When We Knew It

This issue raises serious questions about the U.S. role in the downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007. Author David Pearson's study argues that U.S. authorities at the highest level knew the airliner was off course much earlier than they have admitted, and that the questions raised by the official versions of the story can only be resolved by a Congressional inquiry. *(August 18/25, 1984)*

K.A.L. 007: Unanswered Questions

This issue brings our 1984 report up to date. With contributions by David Pearson, John Keppel and David Corn, it is the culmination of an intensive investigation. The authors analyze new Japanese radar data, discuss a Nation Institute-sponsored review, by aviation experts, of the final airline transmission and describe the government's efforts to obstruct investigation. *(August 17/24, 1985)*

Central America

This special issue on Central America offers a strong refutation of Reagan Administration views. Highlighted by Walter LaFeber's overview, William LeoGrande's analysis of the domestic political fallout and Peter Davis's compelling firsthand report on the Nicaraguan revolution, the issue is one of the most urgent, informative and important in *The Nation*'s history. *(January 28, 1984)*

Reflections on a Glass House: The U.N. at 40

Nine scholars and activists provide an examination of the United Nation's achievements and failures. They assess the organization's role in disarmament, Middle East negotiations and in relations between the developed countries and the Third World. A much-needed rebuttal to U.N. opponents' arguments. *(September 21, 1985)*

The Education Wars

Teachers, education watchers, journalists and scholars join forces to retake much of the ground recently occupied by Reagan's National Commission on Excellence in Education. With its healthy mix of policy issues and practical matters, "The Education Wars" is indispensable to anyone with a stake in the continuing battle over our schools. *(May 25, 1985)*

Many Bhopals: Technology Out of Control

Robert Engler reveals that the dangerous dependence on pesticides and the movement away from people-intensive agriculture results from corporate profit-making strategies. The Bhopal disaster is one of countless poisonings occurring each year, here and in the Third World, under an irresponsible scientific-corporate elite. *(April 27, 1985)*

REPRINTS (each title)	Qty.	Name	Total
1-9: $3.00 ea.			
10-49: $2.00 ea.			
50-99: $1.50 ea.			
100-249: $1.25 ea.			
250 or more: $1.00 ea.			

N.Y. residents add appropriate sales tax _____

Total Enclosed _____

SEND TO:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Mail check or money order to Nation Reprints, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. **Prepayment is required. All reprint sales are final.**

Foreign orders (including Canada): Add $1 per issue. Payment must be made with an international money order (no service charge) or from a U.S. dollar account (add service charge: Canada, $5; all others, $15).

NR8642

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At length the same man who had greeted the Ambassador talked with me. A.N.C. officials customarily ask that their names not be used.

"The South African government is now playing their repression card because they're exhausting all their options," he began. "It's going to come down to slugging it out now, but we don't know how. There are a number of possible scenarios, but I wouldn't say any of them is more likely than any other.

"One is, We'd better start talking now before it's too late. But that's likely to come about only through an escalation of struggle and a massive loss of confidence of whites in the regime. That's the attrition strategy, and it could be done not only with a military campaign but with a diplomatic campaign as well, with sanctions, with pressure on the international community to isolate the Boers to a far greater extent than they're doing now.

ITEM: In 1984 there was an average of 1.23 "unrest-related" deaths per day in South Africa; in the first six months of 1986 there was an average of 5.37 such deaths per day.

The Weekly Mail, September 11, 1986

"Number two is a Philippines scenario, or what they call an Iranian scenario—a sort of *Götterdämmerung*, which is not impossible. You might say that the South African soldiers would not shrink from firing on crowds, from massacres, from rounding up thousands of people and shooting them. They'd like to, but perhaps they can't. Craig Williamson, a famous government spy who infiltrated the unions complained that they haven't used their "stadium option," the Pinochet strategy, because the international community would not stand for it, and would cut them off completely. He's probably right.

"Number three is about armed struggle. At best it could result in victory and wipe the slate clean; this is not impossible. But there are tremendous logistical problems. To begin with, you cannot move troops through neighboring territory. But it's not inconceivable that we could take and hold territory. We don't think armed struggle is necessary in some romantic way to teach people unity or power or strength, like the Cubans said in the early days. We think it has military and political value.

"The fourth scenario involves effective intervention by South Africa's allies to replace a collapsing civilian government with a military regime—a coup engineered from abroad, so to speak. The military might then move for a settlement. They're going to do the dying, after all. There are a lot of historical precedents for that kind of scenario; think of Algeria, for instance."

"It would be nice to get total victory," he concluded, "but the reality is that we'll have to make a deal, we'll have to take less than we asked for."

What many white South Africans hope they'll take is another scenario, the Zimbabwe solution. That is the unstated proposal of the Eminent Persons Group, which in May visited South Africa, talked with Nelson Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison and dropped in on the A.N.C. in Lusaka. Like the Lancaster House agreements, which arranged for Zimbabwe's independence, this solution would provide a framework for black government in South Africa without seriously disrupting the structure of white economic privilege and social status. Blacks would run the bureaucracy, and whites would keep their money.

That's a scenario much in favor in the United States. Democrats who pushed the moderate sanctions bill through Congress may share the Republican fear of communism in the A.N.C., but they believe they can impose sufficient constraints—already suggested in the sanctions legislation—to keep the organization from pursuing the second stage of its revolution with much vigor, once it is transformed from exile movement to governing party. A little socialism would be tolerated to meet the minimum needs and expectations of those who helped the victors to power. Liberals in the West are not always swift to grasp foreign politics, but they do understand that there can be no settlement in South Africa without a unitary state and the A.N.C.'s participation. Cantonal federation, the Buthelezi stratagem, not to mention continued white rule, are ultimately not options, only empty dreams of a dying minority.

"There's a huge American input of money in South Africa," the A.N.C. representative continued, much of it earmarked for projects that are presumed to be beneficial to the "black bourgeoisie." Mobil Oil and Coca-Cola just established foundations to educate black technocrats and managers, and hundreds of young blacks are being sent to colleges in the United States to be indoctrinated in the American dream. "That's all 'constructive engagement,'" the A.N.C. man added. "We could stop it by exposing it, like we stopped Coretta King, but we don't. People can use the money.

"Americans are obsessed with their own struggles with racism, and they want to export their strategies and solutions. Black civil rights brokers come over here and tell whites how to buy off moderates and isolate the extremes and what the rewards of co-optation are. They remind people of how extremists get dead and moderates get the gravy, and nothing much has to change."

From afar, South Africa seems to be a chaotic fury of forces: the comrades and the vigilantes, the unions and the soldiers, Buthelezi's Zulus and Mandela's minions, black consciousness and Afrocommunism, the A.N.C. and AZAPO, the kids and the guerrillas. Down there on a visit it looks more like a standoff. There's something wrong with every scenario: the workers won't buy the Zimbabwe model; the Boers won't accept a black bureaucracy; the military won't give up the war at home or in the border countries; the people are not ready for general insurrection; the guerrillas cannot yet mobilize a decisive intervention; the international community stops short of crippling blockades. And yet the forces are gathering, the drama is deepening, and the standoff will surely end. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOUTH AFRICA IN WORLD POLITICS

At the Gates Of the Laager

DAVID LEWIS

In the conservative western Transvaal town where I grew up, the gateposts of the largest Afrikaner high school are built of stone from the site of a British concentration camp that housed the mothers, wives and children of Boer soldiers at the turn of the century. A plaque at the school's entrance reminds generations of young Afrikaners of their anti-imperialist history.

For the Boers of the 1980s, hostility to "external interference" is alive and well. Today's imperial bête noire is the Soviet Union or "international communism," but suspicion of any "outside aggressor" is never far from the surface. In 1977 then-Prime Minister John Vorster ran a re-election campaign on the issue of U.S. interference in South Africa's affairs—Vice President Walter Mondale had publicly supported majority rule in South Africa—and he won by the largest landslide in parliamentary history. At the National Party Congress this past August, President P.W. Botha railed against Western intervention, declaring, "We are not the colonial lackeys of any other state or power bloc."

This anti-imperialist cant invites cynicism. The apartheid regime's own military and economic behavior in southern Africa is in the highest imperial tradition. Moreover, with Afrikanerdom divided and the black opposition increasingly united, what better time to scapegoat an outside aggressor? Above all, South African rhetoric helps perpetuate the myth of the intransigent Boer, not only impervious to foreign pressure but also perversely strengthened by it. Confrontation will supposedly drive the South African government deeper into its laager, leaving constructive engagement as the only effective international instrument for eliminating apartheid.

Racial stereotypes are seldom helpful categories of analysis, and the image of the dour, parochial, rural Boer is no exception. Afrikaner society is no longer monolithic. True, there are Boer strongholds, such as the huge civil service which employs more than 30 percent of the white working population. This stratum feels directly imperiled by the prospect of a nonracial society, rejects both international pressure and the Botha government's reforms, and is susceptible to an ultra-right resurgence. The more powerful and successful member of Afrikaner society today, however, is likely to be a cosmopolitan banker, business executive or scientist, solidly plugged into the "Western community of nations" and vulnerable to the threat of pariahdom. South Africa cherishes its Western identity. It has diplomatic relations with all the Western states and belongs to most prominent international political, scientific and sporting bodies. The South African religious community, including the highly conservative Dutch Reform Church, is linked closely with international denominations. Relations between the South African military and security apparatuses and their Western counterparts are predictably well developed. Above all, South Africa has a highly sophisticated internationalized economy.

International moves against apartheid strike at this blend of material interest and national self-image, and the South African response suggests how much the pressure hurts. The government and major corporations go to ludicrous lengths and expense to entice second-rate international sports teams, indicating the desperation of a nation that feels deserted by its family rather than any characteristically Boer contempt for the outside world. And while white South Africa may delight in runner Zola Budd's inclusion in the British Olympic team, it is a bittersweet achievement—this flower of Afrikaner youth donning the colors of the old imperial master to gain a semblance of international respectability.

The campaign for economic sanctions, unquestionably the most powerful weapon in the international armory, provokes the most heated reaction. "I'm nobody's jellyfish," Botha told the National Party Congress. "If we have to suffer sanctions for the sake of maintaining freedom, justice and order, we will survive them. Not only will we survive, we will emerge stronger on the other side."

Botha's bluster is not without international effect. Opponents of sanctions argue that South Africa is immune to the threat of isolation. As Margaret Thatcher said recently: "South Africa has colossal internal resources. A colossal coastline. And whatever sanctions were put on, materials would get in and get out. There's no way you can blockade the whole South African coastline. No way."

The contention that sanctions are unenforceable and will therefore be ineffective sets up the straw man of a South Africa cut off from all trading, investment and technology links with the rest of the world. In fact, precisely because South Africa recognizes the power of sanctions, it already has in place a formidable sanctions-busting apparatus. Strategic stockpiling, of oil in particular, has long been a fundamental feature of South African government policy. Although that is important, the greatest challenge will be to maintain the flow of trade and technology in the face of tightening sanctions. The former general manager of Armscor, South Africa's arms procurement agency, has been appointed to head a special sanctions-busting agency. The Minister of Manpower, Piet du Plessis, boasts, "We all know that trade can take place in both conventional and unconventional ways, and this is being planned by a countertrade committee in the Department of Trade and Industries, which also deals with barter trade. . . . Over the years steps have been taken to insure the continuance of our trade, irrespective of looming sanctions."

Offshore facilities are vital against sanctions. South African exporters have already begun falsifying country-of-origin labels, with the predictable collaboration of Israel

David Lewis is a visiting scholar at the Institute of African Studies at Columbia University.

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and Taiwan. High-technology equipment has been an Achilles' heel of the South African government, with low levels of domestic production and insufficient investment in research and development. But Taiwan has assured South African clients of its willingness to license local producers in the event of trading restrictions, according to *Business Week*. Since the 1970s, Japanese business has flagrantly evaded a national ban on investing in South Africa by similar licensing agreements with local producers.

South Africa's more conservative neighbors may also be giving critical help to the sanctions-busting operation. Finnish transport workers recently refused to handle cargo ostensibly destined for Swaziland because they believed that it was bound for South Africa. Disclaiming official responsibility, a senior Swazi spokesman said: "There is a great deal of counterfeiting going on in South Africa. . . . That's why you can find Swaziland grapes, wine and apples—even though our climate doesn't allow us to grow them."

The oil and arms embargoes already in force indicate the high price exacted by sanctions, however. With the adoption of an expensive coal-to-oil conversion program designed to reduce reliance on imported oil, South African–produced petroleum cost 20 percent more than the international market price, until the recent oil slump. Despite the much-vaunted local weapons industry the arms embargo is estimated to have added $2.1 billion to the military budget in 1984 alone. Despite vast capital outlays South Africa failed to achieve self-sufficiency in either oil or arms. The country still imports half its petroleum; in 1984, 30 percent of weapons used by the military and 80 percent of the parts of locally manufactured arms were imported. The lesson of the oil and arms embargoes is that to some extent South Africa will find its way into the international market. But South African business will import at premium prices and export at discounts, thus constricting already narrow profit margins. In a competitive economy the power of sanctions will be measured by their impact on those margins.

Bankers, traders and manufacturers require funds, markets and technology, and if the laager is unable to meet their demands, they may well be forced to reconsider their options outside it. For example, a comprehensive trade embargo of South African fruit and coal would place industries controlled by politically powerful South African interests in a precarious position. Close to half of the citrus crop is exported; thus, a trade embargo would be devastating. South Africa exports approximately 25 percent of the coal it mines, and the loss of so large a portion of its market would be a serious problem, especially for such a capital-intensive industry.

It is difficult to imagine the pragmatic business sector accepting this attack on its profits. Nationalism will go some way toward maintaining a united house. Sanctions will also generate windfalls for some South African businesses: trade restrictions will protect certain local industries from international competition, while disinvestment will depress the price of foreign-owned assets. The instinct of beleaguered business executives will be to evade sanctions. But at the end of the day factories and finance houses need more than flag-waving, and sophisticated enterprises cannot rely on windfall profits and shadowy sanctions-busting operations. Far from being an ineffective weapon against the obstinate Boer, sanctions are a real threat to the growing class that profits handsomely from its association with the outside world.

The real problem with international pressure is not that it is inherently useless or counterproductive. It is that the pressure so far deployed has been extremely weak. The international squeeze on South Africa covers a vast range of institutions and actions, from sports and cultural boycotts to the arms embargo by the United Nations and the oil boycott by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. The extent and nature of Western government actions vary widely: the Scandinavians are the most militant, having long provided financial support to the African National Congress; the Japanese, the most opportunistic, with a heavy economic stake that flies in the face of their publicly stated opposition to apartheid. West Germany, the United States and Great Britain are the most reluctant to put the screws on South Africa.

The current debate centers on economic sanctions, and no countries are under more intense scrutiny than the United States and Great Britain. Although both governments have consistently vetoed mandatory U.N. sanctions, they both have been forced to agree to mild economic sanctions. The Reagan Administration was overpowered by its own legislature; the Thatcher government, by the European Community. The U.S. Congress and the Common Market have banned new investments as well as imports of Krugerrands, iron and uranium. Congress has also banned textiles and has restricted the export of computer equipment.

All the Western powers are somewhat constrained by their membership in international or regional bodies. While Britain and the United States have not hesitated to use their veto in the Security Council to support South Africa, neither country would wish to stand alone on an apartheid vote in the United Nations. They are accordingly obliged to seek a common Security Council strategy. Over time, if the strength of the apartheid issue forces a change in U.S. attitudes, there may be a corresponding shift in the policies of a Tory government anxious to be at one with the United States over this issue in the United Nations.

The need for unity in the Common Market and the Commonwealth is for the moment a more powerful influence than is the United Nations on Britain's stance. The Commonwealth's large Third World membership—including some front-line states—has placed the Thatcher government under persistent pressure. Even Australia and Canada have, to a significant extent, parted company with Thatcher over South Africa. Within the Common Market, too, the progressive positions of the Nordic countries and the Netherlands appear to have left Britain by itself on the extreme right. The Thatcher government's efforts to ward off that isolation has backfired. The Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group, appointed at Britain's behest, ended up endorsing vigorous sanctions. And the humiliation in Pretoria of Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, sent there in the name

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Surprise!!

This holiday season surprise and delight your friends—and confound your enemies—by giving gift subscriptions to *The Nation*, the leading defender of human rights, environmental controls, consumer protection, and nuclear sanity against the onslaught of the Radical Right.

SPECIAL LOW HOLIDAY GIFT RATES!

$18.50
for the first gift
(more than 50% off the regular subscription price)

only $16.00
for each additional gift

For each gift subscription we will send a card, in your name, reproducing the Tony Auth drawing above.

More than 50% off on all gift subscriptions!

1 year—47 issues
First gift—$18.50
Each additional gift—$16.00

YOUR NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ Send gift card(s) to recipient(s).
Signed _____

☐ Send gift cards to me in time for holiday giving.

PLEASE SEND GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS TO:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

For gifts outside U.S. add $9 each for postage.
Payment in U.S. funds only.

For additional gifts attach list.

☐ Enclosed is $ _____ for ____ subscription(s).

Charge my: ☐ MASTERCARD ☐ VISA

Account # _____
Exp. Date

Signature _____

☐ Bill me later.

SEND TO: THE NATION, BOX 1953
MARION, OH 43305.

MD642

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Common Market, heightened Thatcher's dilemma. For his pains, Howe was publicly rebuked by Zambian leader Kenneth Kaunda, and no major antiapartheid leader would agree to meet with him. Botha, too, initially refused to meet with the British Foreign Secretary. When the two men did eventually talk, Botha was at his most intransigent.

Tempting as it is to see Thatcher alone and exposed, the situation is not that clear-cut. The African countries in the Commonwealth that favor sanctions, specifically Zimbabwe and Zambia, have not been able to secure the full backing of the other member southern African states. Even India, the first country to propose sanctions, has a number of skeletons in its closet. The country's diamond cutting and polishing industry employs 500,000 workers, and the origin of the diamonds is clearly South Africa. The European Community's connections with South Africa are even more apparent. When push came to shove at a meeting of Common Market ministers on September 16, Thatcher's position was supported by a West German veto of a coal embargo. Portugal, with an eye to the 750,000-strong and very right-wing Portuguese community living in South Africa, backed Thatcher and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Regardless of the relative strength of their commitment to sanctions, the Western nations cannot be expected to take more than limited action against South Africa. It may be difficult for Britain, the United States or West Germany to endorse the South African regime openly or provide it with the economic, military or diplomatic support it needs to restore stability on its own terms. Nevertheless, militant options are precluded. No Western power, not even the Scandinavians, will directly support armed struggle in South Africa. Nor, it seems, will the Western powers support and enforce mandatory U.N. sanctions.

ITEM: In 1984, 795 South Africans legally changed their race on official records. 518 coloreds became white; 89 Africans became colored; 5 coloreds became African; 2 whites became Chinese; 1 white became Indian.

The Apartheid Handbook, by Roger Omond

At the heart of Western policy, predictably enough, lie economic and strategic concerns. The United States, whose trade with South Africa last year amounted to $3.38 billion, is the Botha regime's largest single trading partner. Total Common Market trade, however, is much greater—$10.3 billion, or more than half of all South Africa's non-gold trade. West Germany accounts for $2.78 billion of that, Britain, for $2.56 billion. Longstanding trade and investment links, enhanced by the old-school-tie connections between the City of London and South Africa's mining and financial establishment, carry special weight in British policy-making circles. Britain is responsible for approximately half the total foreign investment in South Africa, which is estimated conservatively at $8.5 billion. U.S. investment comes to $1.8 billion, and West German, to $1.1 billion.

Washington regularly asserts that South African minerals are essential to Western industry and defense, which would accordingly be undermined by any disruption of trade. The argument is bolstered by the claim that the only alternative supplier is the Soviet Union. In a speech before a group of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Director of Central Intelligence William Casey envisaged a world devoid of television sets, heart-lung machines, computers, stainless steel and submarines, and concluded darkly by saying, "In the future, we can expect to be in competition with the Soviet Union . . . in the case of Persian Gulf oil and South African minerals."

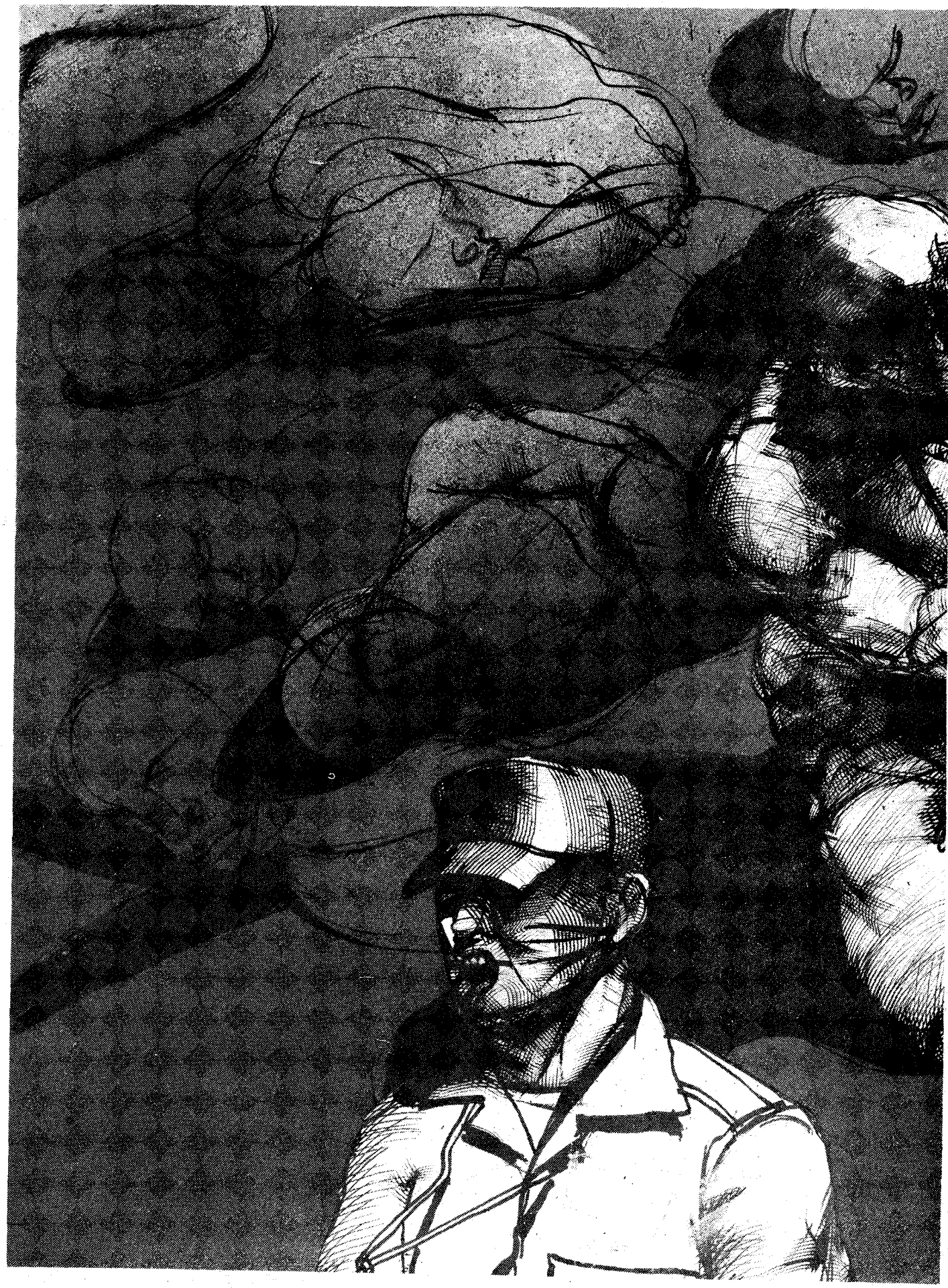
Yet the argument is weak. Of South Africa's mineral bounty, only chromium, manganese, vanadium and the platinum-group metals can be deemed essential or strategic. A 1980 study by the U.S. Congressional Research Service concluded: "South African minerals are of significant but not critical importance to the West. . . . in the case of each of the critical minerals imported from South Africa, means are available for dealing with an interruption without depending on the Soviet Union as an alternative supplier." Stockpiling, recycling and tapping other non-Soviet sources would reduce U.S. dependence on South Africa. The countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which hold smaller stockpiles, are somewhat more vulnerable, but could still offset this by judicious stockpiling now. South Africa could not, of its own accord, withhold mineral exports, which, according to the Congressional Research Service, "would be disastrous to South Africa's mining and finance houses." It would also be a devastating blow to much-needed foreign exchange.

An obsession with global strategic issues as they relate to South Africa is the province of the Reagan Administration. As evidence of creeping Soviet influence, the Reagan Administration generally cites the presence of Cuban troops in Angola and the close relationship between the A.N.C. and the South African Communist Party. The need to protect the cape's sea routes against Soviet threat has lost its effectiveness as an argument for maintaining the status quo in South Africa. If the Soviet Union wished to cut off Western access to Persian Gulf oil fields there would be more convenient places to do so—the Strait of Hormuz, for example. In any event such action would be tantamount to a declaration of war.

The chief weakness of the Soviet-threat argument is the lack of evidence that the Soviet Union sees in southern Africa an opportunity to advance its interests. In 1983, *The Economist* reported that Reagan Administration officials had told a visiting group of South African generals that the Soviet threat in the region was "overblown." The liberation of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe was accomplished with little Soviet assistance and has not led to any noticeable Soviet hegemony. The Washington-based Center for Defense Information points out that even Angola, indisputably the Soviet Union's closest ally in southern Africa, has moved closer to the West in recent years.

Perhaps the biggest victim of the Soviet-threat argument has been the A.N.C. The instinctive response of the British

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and U.S. governments to the groundswell of popular support for the organization has been to search frantically for alternative leaders. Their mantle has fallen on Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, a virulent opponent of sanctions, and Bishop Isaac Mokoena, who has links to the Rev. Jerry Falwell and other U.S. right-wing fundamentalists. Supporters give wildly exaggerated estimates of the following of those two men: Buthelezi is portrayed as the representative of 6 million Zulus; Mokoena, as the voice of 4.5 million members of independent churches. In fact, Mokoena is the spiritual head of a loose grouping of churches, and it is doubtful that many of his congregants know of his political views, let alone support them. Opinion polls attest to Buthelezi's declining support, even in his stronghold of KwaZulu. Such support as he does enjoy is based on coercion and patronage. Where the search for a suitably pliant alternative leadership fails, the next step is to Red-bait the A.N.C. so as to discredit or split the group. Reagan has been particularly crude: "There are still people [in the A.N.C.]," he said at a nationally televised press conference in Chicago. "If you could . . . separate out [the Communists] and get the solid citizens in the A.N.C. to come forward on their own, that's just fine." A clause in the recently enacted Anti-Apartheid Act instructs the C.I.A. and other intelligence organizations to report within ninety days on "the extent to which Communists have infiltrated the many black and nonwhite South African organizations engaged in the fight against the apartheid system, and the extent to which any such Communist infiltration or influence sets the policies and goals of the organizations with which they are involved."

The Botha regime's current cozy relationship with Britain and the United States has much to do with the basic racist instincts of the major Western leaders—displayed in Ronald Reagan's and Margaret Thatcher's fulminations about "black-on-black violence," and White House Director of Communications Patrick Buchanan's dismissal of Africa as a "theatre of barbarism." As long as the Republicans remain in power in Washington, and the Conservatives in London, South Africa will enjoy room for economic, military and diplomatic maneuver, and a measure of international legitimacy for its reform program—legitimacy it entirely lacks at home.

But what if the U.S. Democratic Party or Britain's opposition should come to power? The underlying motivations of British and U.S. policy will not change overnight. Yet during the Carter Administration, whatever the shortcomings of its South Africa policy, there was at least the palpable sense of a watchful, critical force that reduced the moral authority of the South African government and broadly supported the opposition's activities. When last in power, Democrats and Laborites alike tended to raise the rhetorical temperature around South Africa and then failed to follow through with concrete policies. But the climate surrounding the apartheid issue has been transformed since 1980, and the stakes are considerably higher. There is some reason to hope, then, that future Democratic and Labor governments may adopt tougher South Africa policies.

The Democratic Party's most recent policy pronouncement, *New Choices in a Changing America*, distances itself from President Reagan's policy of constructive engagement and demands "the implementation of tough and effective new sanctions against South Africa's racist regime—in concert with our allies if possible, alone if necessary." That this position is taken in the name of a bellicose anti-Sovietism, to defeat the "no-win choice among racism, Marxism, or other extremist elements," may call into question the Democrats' commitment to fighting apartheid. Nevertheless, the party is on record in favor of stronger action.

In Britain, A.N.C. President Oliver Tambo addressed last year's Labor Party Conference. This year's conference committed a future Labor government to "supporting the adoption of mandatory and comprehensive economic sanctions by the U.N. Security Council and international action through the European Community and the Commonwealth." Leo Panitch, a Canadian political scientist who has written extensively on the Labor Party, points to the proven ability of the Whitehall bureaucracy to undermine radical policy shifts, and to the continuing sway of centrist Denis Healey, a former Foreign Secretary, over Labor policy. Yet Panitch, like many other informed commentators, still sees a definite "Scandinavian" drift to the left in Labor's foreign policy, and he says this bodes well for stronger policies by a future Labor government.

The effort by antiapartheid forces to push Western governments into adopting tougher policies toward South Africa will focus on three areas: intensified economic sanctions, the question of the front-line states, and the political status of the A.N.C.

The major step forward of the past year is that sanctions are now an established fact. The argument is no longer whether there will be sanctions, but what kind. Is is important to recognize, however, that the sanctions battle still has a long way to go. In the heady aftermath of the Senate's override of the President's veto, it is easy to forget that the Anti-Apartheid Act represents a substantial retreat from the bill for comprehensive trade and investment sanctions initially passed by the House of Representatives. And although Thatcher has been forced to agree to trifling economic sanctions, Britain, along with West Germany, succeeded in defeating a potentially significant European embargo on coal.

Then there is the question of the front-line states. The South African government has continually prophesied that its neighbors will bear the brunt of sanctions, and it is well-placed to fulfill that prophecy. The Botha regime's knee-jerk reaction to any opposition from the neighboring states has been to use its domination of the region's transport infrastructure. Earlier this year a blockade of Lesotho sparked a military coup there. Later, Zambia's and Zimbabwe's overt support for Commonwealth sanctions prompted South Africa to begin a systematic disruption of northbound traffic across its border with Zimbabwe, which carries 90 percent of Zimbabwean trade. South Africa has also slapped an onerous deposit—amounting to 125 percent of customs duty—on all Zambia-bound goods passing through its territory. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

new ruling affects 70 percent of Zambia's imports.

Of all the states, Mozambique has been designated the principal fall guy. Although Pretoria's role in the death of Mozambican President Samora Machel remains unclear [see Pauline H. Baker, "What Next in Mozambique?" *The Nation*, November 15], the Botha government has long sponsored the armed terror of the Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo). Mozambique's Indian Ocean ports and its rail links with other front-line states make it a key South African target. The decision to repatriate 50,000 Mozambican miners—in the face of reported opposition from the South African Chamber of Mines—has dealt a further blow to Mozambique's crippled economy. Miners' remittances had accounted for about 12 percent of the country's gross national product.

The front-line states, nonetheless, have shown a remarkable willingness to confront South Africa and its supporters in the region. Malawi and Zaire, for example, have been threatened with blockades by their black-ruled neighbors should they continue to support Unita forces in Angola and Renamo guerrillas in Mozambique.

Western attitudes to the front-line states are ominous. Thatcher is worth quoting at length:

> I sometimes get the map out and say look at it. Have you looked at how goods are going to get in and out of Zambia and Zimbabwe? Close Beit Bridge and how are you going to do it? . . . Have you looked at the poverty and hunger and starvation—just when we're after all trying to give things *to* Africa, to see she doesn't suffer in this way?

But will Britain do anything to compensate for that situation? Baroness Young, Thatcher's Minister of State at the Foreign Office, told the House of Lords, "Clearly the U.K. is not in a position of offsetting the effects of economic sanctions on the front-line states." But the Common Market and the United States are in fact in a powerful position to do just that, and a potent measure of the strength of anti-apartheid campaigners will be their ability to force their governments to offer the front-line states support.

Finally, the ascendancy of the A.N.C. offers antiapartheid activists a chance to move beyond campaigns designed to isolate the South African regime, and instead to push for political relations with an organization that in recent years has increasingly come to resemble a government in exile. A great many countries, as well as international and regional bodies, have accorded the A.N.C. that de facto status. Most critically, the A.N.C. has a widespread and growing constituency inside South Africa. Although support for the A.N.C. is illegal, opinion polls taken in South Africa indicate strong backing for the organization, and particularly for its jailed leader, Nelson Mandela. A.N.C. colors are prominently displayed at funerals and demonstrations. The country's major trade union organization, COSATU, has publicly recognized the leading role of the A.N.C. in the national liberation movement, while business leaders, church officials and representatives of the white opposition acknowledge the A.N.C.'s legitimacy by their constant pilgrimages to the organization's headquarters in Lusaka. Yet the major Western governments continue to use epithets like "terrorist" to refer to the A.N.C. Western antiapartheid activists will have to force their governments to recognize that the A.N.C. is a key player in any solution to the South African conflict and therefore grant it the political and diplomatic status it merits.

These, then, are the three legs of a progressive policy toward South Africa: economic sanctions, support for the front-line states and recognition of the central role of the liberation movement. The outcome will depend primarily on the intensity of the struggle waged in South Africa. But between South Africa and the Western governments, the anti-apartheid organizations act as a transmission belt to mobilize a broad base of support. The manner in which these organizations respond to news blackouts, Red-baiting and the complex chain of events in South Africa will determine the degree of international pressure imposed on the regime.

There is undeniably an "irresistible force/immovable object" quality to the South African struggle. There are the "intransigent Boers," with their powerful vested economic interest in maintaining apartheid, and a huge military capacity that has yet to unleash its full might. Arrayed against it are the youths in the streets, the workers in the factories and the organizations that represent them—the unions, the various community, women's and student groups, the cadres of the A.N.C.—none of whom are going to crack in the face of the huge obstacles in their path. These two forces will, under any circumstances, determine the outcome. Resolute international action will help tip the balance. □

BULK ORDERS

FACING SOUTH AFRICA

This Special Issue of The Nation is ideal for distribution to the membership of your organization, for classroom use, or for passing along to friends.

The special rates quoted below are good only for orders received by December 15, 1986. So send in the attached coupon for your bulk order today.

Bulk Order Price List

1 - 9 copies	$2.00 each
10 - 99 copies	$1.00 each
100 - 499 copies	$ .75 each
500 or more copies	$ .50 each

Prepayment is required (price includes postage).

Send me_____copies of The Nation Special Issue, **Facing South Africa**. I enclose $_____payment in full.*

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

* Mail check or money order to Nation Bulk Sales, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (U.S. currency only. N.Y. State residents please add appropriate sales tax.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Reports From the Inside

GEORGE PACKER

MATING BIRDS. *By Lewis Nkosi. St. Martin's Press. 184 pp. $13.95.*

FOOLS AND OTHER STORIES. *By Njabulo Ndebele. Readers International. 280 pp. $14.95. Paper $7.95.*

Oppression, viewed from a distance, seems ideally suited to literature. A note of envy is often sounded in discussions of what André Brink calls "writing in a state of siege," as if a crackdown on *The New Yorker* or a late-night knock at Norman Mailer's door might help produce our own Milan Kundera or our own J.M. Coetzee. Thus, earlier this year George Steiner warned that

> the liberalities of the privileged West are no guarantor of true creativity. Where everything can be said, the writer is not, as Tolstoy proclaimed him to be, "the alternative state," the compelling counterimperative of clairvoyance and of conscience. The "censorship" of the free and mass-market economies is wonderfully light compared to that of the East German or South African truncheon. But it corrodes, it trivializes.

But in South Africa, where the truncheon is a metal tipped *sjambok* and not a figure of speech, black writers have not been thrust into international prominence. Of the South Africans widely published and read in this country—Coetzee, Gordimer, Brink, Breytenbach, Fugard—all are white. The fact is that the struggle that's come to obsess the West hasn't produced its García Márquez or its Soyinka.

Partial explanations arise: the inferior education blacks receive; the heavier censorship on them; the frequency with which they are banned or jailed; the necessity of writing in a second or third language and in an acquired literary tradition; the necessity of mediating experience for foreign readers.

The black writer Es'kia Mphahlele has suggested a deeper reason:

> I feel very gloomy about the situation as far as creative writing is concerned. . . . Our energies go into this conflict to such an extent that we don't have much left for creative work. One might ask, "Why could this not be a spur towards creative writing?" I think it is paralysing. As writers, we build up ready, stock responses which always come out in our writing.

Literature from inside a struggle can lose the ambiguity that often seems essential to good writing. And inside the struggle against an evil of such overwhelming magnitude as apartheid, the subject itself threatens to silence any normal discourse. On the one hand the black writer comes from a group whose humanity has been denied; on the other he or she has to find a language for that humanity beyond the narrow status of victim that's been assigned to it.

The status of victim shackles one in another way too. The liberal white writer is an outsider, and in our literary culture marginality is a strength. But black writers are obliged to ask themselves with every line they write: "Will this compromise me as a member of the struggle? As a writer?" The writer can risk losing his or her black audience with art that appears self-indulgent, or risk turning that art into propaganda. No wonder so many black writers, prodded by the Publications Control Board and the Bureau of State Security, have chosen exile.

The problem is explicit in the fiction that came out of the Soweto riots. Those events shaped an entire generation of writers: "June 16, 1976 exploded in my face," wrote Mtutuzeli Matshoba, whose stories, collected in 1979 in *Call Me Not A Man*, were banned. They read less as fiction than as vivid distillations of apartheid's small-scale atrocities: a humiliating pass arrest, life in a migrant workers' hostel. The leading post-Soweto fiction—stories published in *Staffrider* magazine, Sipho Sepamla's novel *A Ride on the Whirlwind*—is concerned not with characters' inner lives but with putting flesh on the bones of a social problem.

Mongane Serote's fine 1981 novel, *To Every Birth Its Blood*, anticipates more recent work. Part I captures, in a lyrical first-person vernacular, the deteriorating consciousness of Tsi, a black journalist: "When man allows his heart to rot, we are capable of beginning to feed on the worms that rise, weave, create all sorts of patterns as they emerge from the rot. We can lick, and begin to enjoy their taste." But Part II abandons Tsi's point of view and follows the lives of a bewildering array of young blacks caught up in the Soweto violence, ultimately slipping into political aphorism: "The people of this country are locked in a tight embrace which is going to destroy them. The white people. The black people. The gold. The diamonds. The guns. The bombs." Part II seems to compromise with the need to be "relevant"—as if a despairing man's struggle to choose could have no relevance, with the revolution almost at hand.

Immerse yourself in the literature of this post-Soweto period and you feel as if you're hearing about black existence in South Africa for the first time. In a sense you are. Neither newspaper nor television clips, neither interviews with black leaders nor the eavesdropping of white South African writers can prepare the reader for black life *from the inside*: the shebeens, matchbox houses, drinking and violence, township music, wit. Whatever literary demands for nuance they fail to satisfy, these works reveal a world. Yet exhaustion, as summed up by a character in Njabulo Ndebele's novella *Fools*, eventually sets in: "The obviousness of analysis! The lack of new insights! Old complaints uttered as if they were revolution itself!" The post-Soweto literature runs aground when it fails to go beyond or beneath the fact of oppression.

A decade after Soweto, two books have emerged that seem to mark a departure from the fiction of five years ago. These begin where the post-Soweto writing gets stuck; they move on from apartheid. A striking feature of both books is the almost complete lack of historical reference. In this indeterminate South Africa, a subtler fiction of subjectivity has a chance to breathe. Michael Kirkwood, editor of Ravan Press (distributed in the United States by Ohio University Press), the central forum for black fiction since 1972, told me: "It is one thing to live a reality, quite another to see it depicted. Since 1976 or '78 the debate has crystallized. There's less need now just to talk, to get everything out. Newer work is asking

George Packer, who has lived in Africa, has written for The New York Times *and* Dissent, *among other publications.*

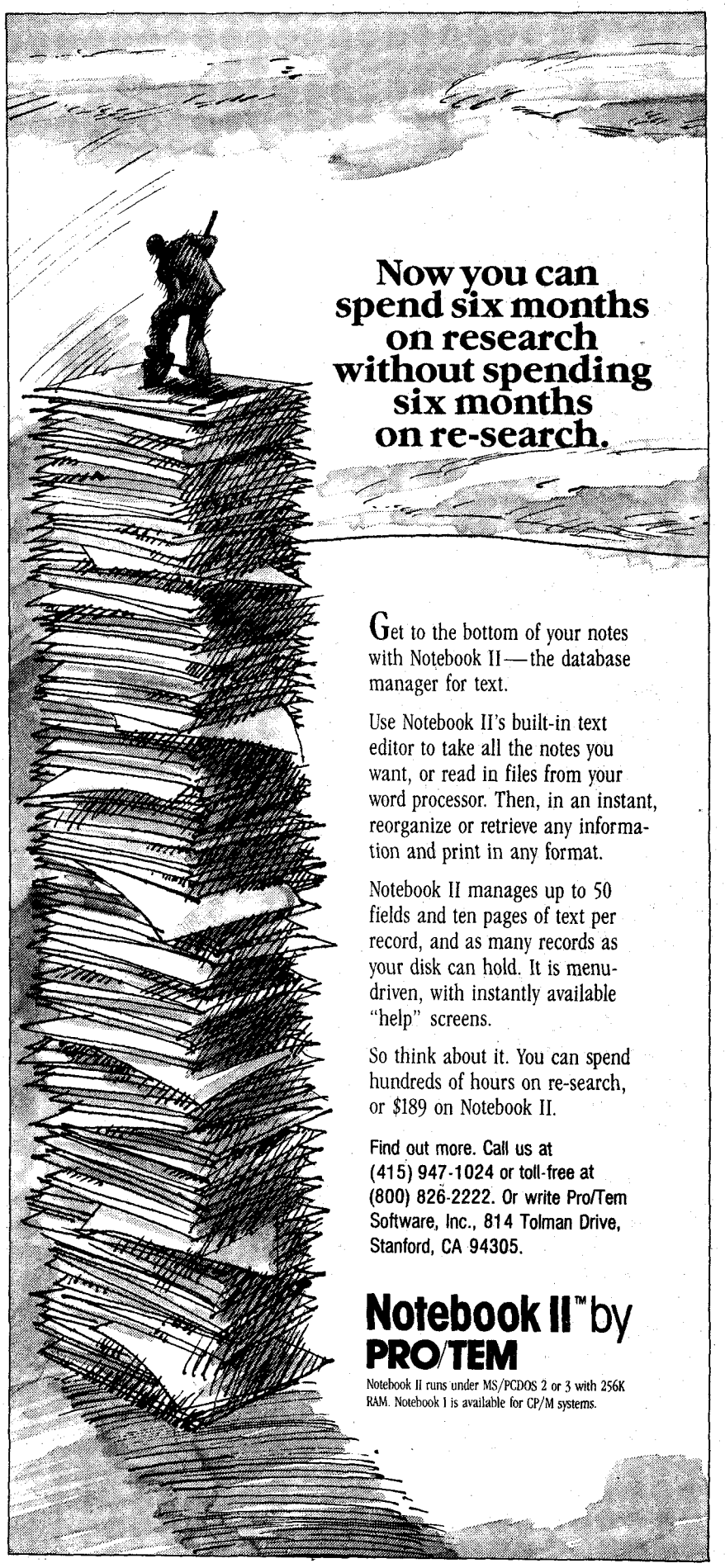
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deeper questions, going into deeper terrains of culture—such manuscripts are being written even as we're talking." But a new approach leads to new problems; and part of the problem may finally lie in the Western readership that's proved so elusive for black writers.

Lewis Nkosi, a noted literary critic, wrote *Mating Birds* from a forced exile that has lasted a quarter-century. His antihero, Sibiya, a Zulu village boy brought by his mother to Durban, has been expelled from university for protesting segregation. He narrates his story from the prison cell where he awaits hanging: not for political activity, but for the rape of a white woman. Idle and empty in the sun-drenched streets of Durban, he begins a silent daily relationship with an English girl who lies provocatively close to the border of the Whites Only beach. They "use no words beyond the primitive language of looks and gestures," and as his obsession starts to poison him they act out a "degrading pantomime of sex" on opposite sides of the fence. He follows Veronica to her bungalow, watches her undress by a wide-open door, comes in, makes the pantomime real—all without the risk of language: "No speech, no pleas, no exhortations." The cops appear from nowhere, and his fate is sealed.

Mating Birds feels like the work of a superb critic. Heavy with symbolism, analytical rather than dramatic, it attempts nothing less than an allegory of colonialism and apartheid, one that dares to linger in complexity. Dr. Dufré, the Swiss criminal psychologist who pries Sibiya's story out of him "for the augmentation of scientific knowledge," wants to hear the Freudian family saga, the psychopathology of this one man. But Sibiya's tale eludes the doctor's formula; at heart this case history is political. "What in the end can we say to each other, this white man and I," thinks Sibiya, "that can break the shell of history and liberate us from the time capsule in which we are both enclosed?" For Sibiya, the crucial moment came after a fairly happy village childhood when his mother pushed him into the Lutheran seminary school: "The truth of the matter is, I am lost. To be more precise, I'm doubly lost. Unlike my father, I believe in nothing, neither in Christian immortality nor in the ultimate fellowship with the ancestral spirits."

His own experience appropriated, he turns to the temptation of his oppressors; when he is rejected intellectu-


Now you can spend six months on research without spending six months on re-search.
Get to the bottom of your notes with Notebook II—the database manager for text.
Use Notebook II's built-in text editor to take all the notes you want, or read in files from your word processor. Then, in an instant, reorganize or retrieve any information and print in any format.
Notebook II manages up to 50 fields and ten pages of text per record, and as many records as your disk can hold. It is menu-driven, with instantly available "help" screens.
So think about it. You can spend hundreds of hours on re-search, or $189 on Notebook II.
Find out more. Call us at (415) 947-1024 or toll-free at (800) 826-2222. Or write Pro/Tem Software, Inc., 814 Tolman Drive, Stanford, CA 94305.
Notebook II™ by PRO/TEM
Notebook II runs under MS/PCDOS 2 or 3 with 256K RAM. Notebook I is available for CP/M systems.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ally, what remains is a terrible lust. The urge to "discover the sexual reasons for the white man's singular protectiveness toward his womenfolk" drains his autonomy and self-worth. The sexuality that feeds on a rotting soul is infected with oppression: it can consist only of voyeurism, the sense that life is elsewhere.

Until very near the end, Nkosi's story succeeds in powerful passages: the sudden disruption of village life that comes with his father's death and the family's forced removal; the portrayal of his uneducated but ambitious mother, who slowly succumbs to the degradation of shebeen life in Durban; the desperate mood of young blacks "with a great deal of time on their hands and no idea of what to do with it." But the last pages can't meet the task that Nkosi has set himself.

The final scenes—the trial and the rape—present an almost insoluble problem. Nkosi has poignantly rendered a black's loss of self; but faced now with the harder task of finding a language for the white girl, the Other, he falls back on literary and political convention. Veronica turns out to be a stripper, a treacherous temptress—the "bait" Sibiya's old father had warned him about. Under the pressure of realism allegory turns into caricature, and Sibiya is just another victim. The language becomes stylized. At the bungalow doorway the narrator sounds like a highbrow pornographer: "While I was trying to recover my surprise at this incredible display, the girl began to undo her bra! Like the magnificent stripper that she was, Veronica's hands were quick, nimble. Through the diaphanous haze of vibrating light. . . ." And at the end of the book he resorts to the language of the pamphleteer: South Africa is "a society that has cut itself off entirely from the rest of humanity, from any possibility for human growth."

The novel sets out to chart the hidden terrain of the oppressed, the link with the oppressor. But apartheid, dehumanizing oppressor and oppressed, is hardly available to the language of human complexity. Nearing its white-hot center, *Mating Birds* retreats.

Njabulo Ndebele's *Fools and Other Stories* attempts less and perhaps achieves more. It dwells on the sensations and physical details, the ordinariness, of a township boyhood. But this boyhood is middle class: instead of ragged miners and sorghum beer, here is a world of schoolbooks, nurses, gramophones. The stories pit a boy's anxious desire for manhood and meaner streets against the burden of a bourgeois upbringing; in "The Music of the Violin" a mother's social-climbing ("This room is as good as any white boy's . . . Kaffir children! That's what. Always ungrateful!") is exaggerated to produce a drama of conflict with her children, which reaches a climax when the boy refuses to play the violin for which he's been ridiculed by township *tsotsis*. The three shorter stories feel a little thin: without Nkosi's intellectual weight or the social context of the post-Soweto writing, they read smoothly but don't leave much behind.

But the long story "Uncle" and the title novella seem to me extraordinary achievements. In them Ndebele creates an imaginative world self-contained enough to be able to set off political reverberations far below the surface of the story. "Uncle," in fact, is about art and rebellion. The trumpet of an itinerant, dissolute uncle is used to subvert the middle-class conventions of his family. The uncle's arrival for a stay with

"Anyone who wants to understand why South Africa is in turmoil should read..."*

CROSSING THE LINE

A YEAR IN THE LAND OF APARTHEID

WILLIAM FINNEGAN

Jerry Bauer

"In the most direct, human way it shows us life under apartheid, with all its cruelty and irrationality. William Finnegan saw apartheid as few outsiders do, teaching its victims in a 'colored' school, and he brings it to life with fascination."
—*Anthony Lewis

"A vivid and moving account.... It makes the evil of apartheid manifest." —Tracy Kidder

"One of the most important books to come out of South Africa of the 1980s."
—J.M. Coetzee

Maps, Index.
At bookstores or call toll-free (800) 638-3030. Major credit cards accepted.

Harper & Row

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his nurse sister explodes his young nephew's world: having an uncle means having a connection to adulthood, white cities, jazz, women and the hidden world of spirits and musical secrets. Though the uncle is a drunk and a womanizer, he educates his nephew in a constant struggle against chaos:

> When you are improvising you are free. Completely free. But I'm telling you, you've got to learn to be free. You've got to struggle hard for that freedom. You see, if I can give you this trumpet and say to you: play something, you'll soon tire of playing anything, because your playing will have no direction. Unlearned freedom frustrates; nothing elevating and lasting ever comes of it.

The uncle's life has cut him off from family and community; in some ways it is degraded and irresponsible. Rebellion has a price. But the uncle's resources for fighting are greater than the others'. And the meaning of his music is unmistakable: "I found my music too, and I try to smash things with it. And as the music smashes something, it builds something else."

"Fools" moves the stage to adulthood. The narrator, a middle-aged schoolteacher, meets a young man, Zani, on a train. They quickly size each other up: the student is the sort who "turn[s] everything into politics," the teacher one of the "masters of avoidance . . . [that] have been destroyed by their own fear of living." And within a few pages the central fact is revealed: Zani knows the narrator as the man who, years before, raped Zani's sister and embezzled church funds. The novella then plays out the fascination and repulsion between them.

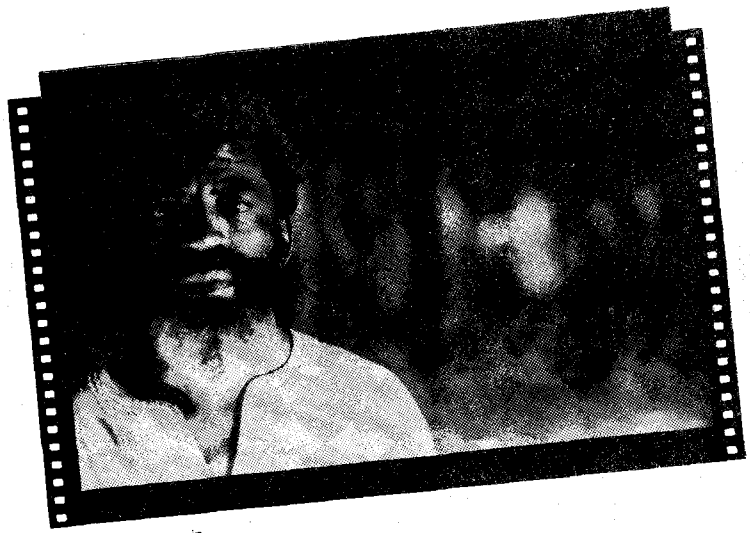
The gulf between the compromised old and the angry young is a central theme in recent black fiction. In Ndebele's hands the balance of power shifts constantly. Without depicting apartheid until the end, "Fools" explores the distortion of personality apartheid creates. The teacher is "someone for whom atonement has become the very condition of life. . . . In fact, he no longer has any personality; for he has become atonement itself." But Zani's political consciousness severs him from township reality and nearly gets him killed:

> He had become his books, and when he moved out of them, he came without a social language. He spoke to me in the same way he spoke to those children. Is that how he had spoken in the bar, and then got stabbed? I wondered if he was not another instance of disembodiment: the obscenity of high seriousness.

The teacher craves Zani's youthful commitment, Zani the teacher's connectedness to his pupils and to his wry, bitter wife. In a violently farcical denouement, the teacher submits to a *sjambokking* by a Boer (the only white to appear in the collection) whose blows were meant for Zani. There's no triumph in his last words to Zani, but at least there is the painful hope that self-knowledge allows:

> I have grown up to this point in my life, and there is not a single piece of the world in my hands. And you; you are too young to have it in your hands no matter how much you can claim to know it. That will come with time. You have your whole life to learn from.

Ndebele is writing about the recovery of a self outside the terms set by apartheid. Every page is political, but the profundity of his best work comes quietly, and this kind of writing carries a risk. Halfway through *Fools* you might want to throw it aside and say, "This



Rashaka Ratshitanga in
THE TWO RIVERS

ICARUSFilms

Your source for films and videos on
South Africa

I TALK ABOUT ME, I AM AFRICA
Black theater and cultural resistance (Home Video).

PASSING THE MESSAGE
The black trade union movement.

SOUTH AFRICA BELONGS TO US
Black women and the family under apartheid.

STUBBORN HOPE
Exile, politics, poetry—a portrait of Dennis Brutus (New Release).

THE SUN WILL RISE
Members of the ANC sentenced to death for fighting apartheid.

THE TWO RIVERS
Political, economic, and cultural background—a poetic and visual work from inside South Africa today (New Release).

These and 132 other films and videos are described in our new COMPLETE FILM CATALOG.

Write for your copy today. ICARUSFilms 200 Park Avenue South Suite 1319 New York, NY 10003 212.674.3375

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DO THEY HAVE A FUTURE?

...only if you help

Years of conflict have created a needy population in the Holy Land. Many families cannot provide health care and education for their children. These children go to a school for the destitute, one of many projects sponsored by ANERA.

In the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Lebanon, ANERA helps families provide for the future of their children through:

- food for the homeless
- medical clinics
- job training

HELP GIVE THEM HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

Please send your check today.

ANERA

American Near East Refugee Aid
Attn: Dr. Peter Gubser
1522 K St. NW #202-b
Washington, D.C. 20005

☐ $500 ☐ $100 ☐ $85 ☐ $50 ☐ $25

☐ General Support
☐ Scholarship ($85 min)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Your donation is tax-deductible. Registered with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid, the NCIB and Interaction. Established 1968.

man's country is burning and he's telling me about a boy who's ashamed of his violin!" The thought occurred to me. We have an insatiable appetite for words about South Africa; yet these black voices are barely beginning to be heard. And do we really want to hear them? The dreary details of township life, family interiors that are neither comfortably familiar nor excitingly exotic, language that sounds a little stiff? None of this fiction, not even Ndebele, reads easily. You can't finish it off like a news report over breakfast.

It may be that our political and literary biases have got Nkosi, Ndebele and the others in a trap. We have a political conception of South Africa which boils down to "apartheid" and "amandla"; we also have literary tastes, which tend to detachment and minimalist fragments. If you put the two together—if Mtutuzeli Matshoba wrote about Soweto like Amy Hempel—no one here would read past page two. When we are hearing about South Africa our blood is up; a Tutu speech or a dispatch about forced removals from Crossroads is, in a perverse way, more satisfying than the subtle nuance of an Ndebele story. We want to have our sense of the moral clarity affirmed; but when we get this in fiction, it jars our literary sensibilities with the tinny sound of propaganda. Writing from the townships is bound to be doubly strange—as literature, as politics. It is not going to tell us what we already know, in words we recognize. *Mating Birds* has a figure for the foreign reader in the Swiss doctor Dufré, who comes every day to hear Sibiya's story:

> To Emile Dufré and the rest of his brotherhood, I feel I am nothing more than a specimen of a socially malfunctioning individual whose name may yet figure in the growing annals of sexual crimes. Of my actual personality, of my roots and the meaning of my past, of the subtle and complex emotions that the merest recollection of the landscape of my childhood is still capable of evoking, Dufré is woefully ignorant. And yet! And yet every day I look forward to his visits.

What's in these visits for the foreign reader? The shock of non-recognition, the challenge of personality and emotion that this fiction offers. ☐

Music in the Mix

GERALD SELIGMAN

In 1979, nineteen years after the Sharpeville massacre, three years after the Soweto uprising and a year before the general unrest that continues to this day, South Africa's most popular *mbube* (a cappella) group, Ladysmith Black Mambazo, recorded a hymn asking the Lord to forgive its sins. That same year, one of the country's top soul singers, Babsy Mlangeni, recorded a praise song for his mother and another thanking his many fans.

Between 1981 and 1984, musicians playing the township music called *mbaqanga*, a repetitive, hard-driving fusion of Western rock with traditional South African forms, recorded songs about bride prices and friends who were jealous of the singers' many girlfriends, as well as cautionary tales about stumbling drunkards or women who neglect their children. Ladysmith Black Mambazo turned in a tribute to the brave miners who risk their lives for the common good.

One would have expected that the country's popular music would have begun to reflect the struggles of its people. Some political songs do exist, as in the rousing *mbube* songs from worker choirs within the trade union movement and the resistance songs aired over the A.N.C.'s Radio Freedom network. Live concerts in the townships often include political criticism and satire, however watered down, and as Jeremy Marre's documentary *Rhythm of Resistance* reveals, even a roadside crew run by a white *baas* is likely to be singing out its complaint: "Whites be damned, they call us Jim."

But little of this musical message can be heard by the public at large, and almost none of it can be recorded legally. Although occasional allegories do slip through, say, in a Zulu tale of the formerly meek prey outrunning the swifter lion, these are exceptions. At most, as Babsy Mlangeni claims in *Rhythm of Resistance*, "We sing a song encouraging a person to be not disheartened by obstacles. We give some examples

Gerald Seligman is a New York–based writer who covers music and the arts.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whereby a person can overcome anything provided he tries hard enough." Hardly spirited political fare. In a country where even "Blowin' in the Wind" and "If I Had a Hammer" were banned as communist-inspired, the bulk of what gets airplay, according to musicologist Andrew Tracey, is the usual fare of "world pop music—banal, erotic, romantic stuff." And of that, there is plenty.

It should come as no surprise that there is pronounced censorship of music in South Africa; the more perplexing issues lie elsewhere, in the participation of those black artists who continue to work within the system. Even here it is not easy to draw a clear political line, for the state has confused matters by exploiting some indigenous musical forms even as it rigorously suppresses and criminalizes others.

That music is an integral part of traditional African life is well known. Alternately sacred and secular, it accompanies essential rites of passage and initiation and, in off hours, is itself a form of recreation. Thematically, secular music embraces cautionary tales, songs that impart ethnic lore and custom, songs of admonition for aberrant behavior, even topical songs criticizing broad contemporary issues and local politics. In South Africa, as throughout Africa, popular music emerged from this traditional recreational music, and sparked though it was by colonialism and by a consumer-oriented recording industry, its new themes are consistent with many of the traditional ones.

Ironically, it's this link with tradition that is cause for controversy. Before World War II, most popular African musicians parroted Western forms, while supplying them with some inevitable, perhaps unintended, local accents. Big American and Cuban-style bands were the models, and nearly every colony initiated its own military and dance bands to encourage local players. But as nationalism flourished after the war, and as colonized lands gained independence, musicians sought to incorporate more traditional African forms into their music, a trend that grows with each passing year.

The result has been a remarkable cross-fertilization, one culture borrowing from another and back again. Nigeria's Fela forged his charged Afrobeat by melding James Brown and American jazz with West African highlife music. Zaire's Tabu Ley Rochereau

"We are on the winning side"
—Bishop Desmond Tutu
New York City, 5/27/86

district council 37 AFSCME, AFL-CIO

Victor Gotbaum, Executive Director
Stanley Hill, Associate Director
Frank Morelli, President
Edward Handman, Director, Public Relations

It lights up in the dark!

Let The Mercury Globe Light Up Your Home

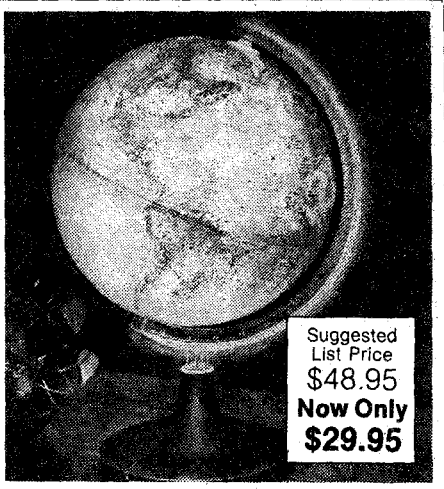
A globe is like an encyclopedia or Bible—no educated home is complete without one. Maps are all very well and good, but only the three-dimensionality of a globe can accurately represent the shape and proportions of our planet.

Now your family can enjoy discovering a *new* world with our Mercury *Illuminated* Globe. This impeccably detailed, completely up-to-date 18" tall model of our planet is available for the earthshakingly low price of $29.95. Never again will a globe of such high quality be offered at such a low price.

An Earthshaking Bargain at Only $29.95

The Mercury Illuminated Globe offers features you just won't find on a conventional globe. It's made of attractive, durable polystyrene and shows the earth's topography, elevations, vegetation patterns, ocean currents, international date line and much more. The Mercury contains over 3,600 place names, from the tallest peaks (complete with height in feet) to the tiniest islands!

As if all that weren't enough, the Mercury GLOWS IN THE DARK! Switch it on and it reveals the physical world in all its colorful detail depicted in 8 crisp, constrasting colors. And here's the added bonus: the Mercury is a handsome night light that will teach your child about geography as it lights up his room!



The Free Globe Handbook Gives You a World of Information

To ensure that you get the full enjoyment out of your Mercury, we're including a full-color handbook that tells how to use the globe and explains earth-space relationships, the planets, and more.

© 1985 Barnes & Noble Bookstores, Inc.

SINCE 1873 Barnes & Noble BOOKSTORES BY MAIL ONLY

Dept. G244, 6 Fifth Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10011

1430917 Please send me ___ Mercury illuminated Globe(s) at your special sale price of only $29.95 (plus $3.00 each shipping and insurance). N.Y., N.J., PA., MASS., res. add sales tax.

Check one ☐ Payment enclosed ☐ DINERS CLUB ☐ MasterCard ☐ AMEX ☐ VISA

Account# _____ Exp.___

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____ Apt _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

For Faster Service
Credit Card Customers Call Toll Free
1-800-228-3535
24 Hours-7 Days a week In Nebraska 1-800-642-9606

30 DAY MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOUTH AFRICAN RECORDS AND THE BOYCOTT

When it comes to the release and export of South African records, there is a difference of opinion. Cultural products are included in the international boycott, whose guidelines have been laid out by the United Nations and independent organizations. Some U.S. labels, like Rounder Records, have issued only records that, in the words of one of Rounder's owner/founders, Bill Nowlin, "have been encouraged by people in the A.N.C. and other support groups . . . [since] importing music that specifically challenges the regime can only be helpful." As to music that is not political, says Nowlin: "It [still] gets some of the word about South Africa out, and anything that gets people talking about South Africa is a good thing. It's almost an inherent aspect that it raises people's thinking about it."

Shanachie Records, like the London-based Earthworks label, while endorsing the boycott, does not believe it should be extended to culture. Shanachie's Randall Grass explains: "Our general attitude is that, number one, this is fantastic music from black South Africa that should be exposed. And secondly . . . we've had communications from people who're close to that scene and other South African musicians, such as the Malopoets. [From those] we've been able to determine that the musicians themselves would like this music to be exposed to the world, so therefore we do it." Shanachie's royalties conform with the contracts of the original South African labels. A portion of Earthworks' royalties is donated to antiapartheid causes.

DISCOGRAPHY

Mbube (a cappella)

Ulwandle Oluncgwele, Ladysmith Black Mambazo. Religious songs. Shanachie Records.

South African Trade Union Worker Choirs, members of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), recently expanded and renamed COSATU. Political songs, several in English, recorded precariously, illegally. Rounder Records.

Mbaqanga

The Indestructible Beat of Soweto, the best single introduction, covering the early 1980s. Shanachie Records.

Zulu Jive, an excellent introduction recorded in the mid-1970s. Licensed by Carthage Records, from Earthworks.

Phezulu Eqhudeni: The Mahotella Queens, Mahlathini and Other Great Stars, early 1970s, and highly recommended. Licensed by Carthage Records, from Earthworks.

He O Oe Oe!, Puseletso Seema & Tau Ea Linare. A release from Lesotho, with prominent accordion. Globe Style (import).

Rhythm of Resistance, soundtrack to the Jeremy Marre documentary, featuring Ladysmith, some *mbaqanga* and South African pop-jazz and soul. Shanachie Records.

Radio Freedom: Voice of the African National Congress and the People's Army Umkhonto We Sizwe. An invaluable documentary of Radio Freedom, including speeches by Oliver Tambo, political *mbaqanga*, commentary and dramas, one of which enacts the controversy over "colored" parliamentary elections. Produced by Rounder's Bill Nowlin in cooperation with the A.N.C. from their Lusaka headquarters. Any South African caught listening to Radio Freedom in South Africa is liable to get five to eight years in prison. Detailed notes and translations are included. Rounder Records.

Mbaqanga-World Music Fusion

Malopoets, expatriates who mix *mbaqanga*, reggae, Euro-American pop and jazz. EMI Records.

Sankomota, Lesotho-based, original, well-produced mixture of rock and prevalent southern African forms. Earthworks (import).

Scatterlings, by Juluka. A ground-breaking, very popular South African interracial band which mixes *mbaqanga* and pop, weighted on the latter side of the equation. To be found in more discerning cut-out bins. Warner Brothers Records.

South African Pop-Jazz

Sakhile and *New Life*, by Sakhile. A disbanded group which, I understand, is in dire financial straits. Jive Africa/Arista.

Chimurenga

Three records by Thomas Mapfumo are recommended:

The Chimurenga Singles: 1976-1980. Meadowlark/Shanachie Records.

Ndangariro. Carthage Records.

Chimurenga for Justice. Rough Trade Records (import).

These records can be found in the international sections of larger stores or by writing directly to Rounder Records, which has a vast catalog of innumerable small labels, at One Camp Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02140; or to Shanachie Records, Dalebrook Park, Hohokus, New Jersey 07423.

and Franco fused traditional instrumental styles on guitars with Latin horns and rumba rhythms to create Congolese music, an ebullient hybrid which in turn influenced and often dominated musicians throughout Africa. But anyone familiar with the traditional musical forms of a country will probably recognize the strong indigenous features of its pop music. All this is evidence of the impassioned resilience of African cultural identity in the face of external influence, and an ever-enlarging pride in native inheritance.

But in South Africa that very pride has been co-opted by the regime in an effort to foster black identification with the so-called homelands. The strategy consists, among other things, of weakening the interethnic solidarity in the townships by reinforcing rural ethnic customs. And the intention, as always, is to divide, conquer and eventually relocate. So where ethnic pride might be seen elsewhere as a reaction against the vestiges of colonialism, in the way that Mali's Salif Keita took up the Griot's role of passing down tradition, or in the way Zimbabwe's Thomas Mapfumo created the revolutionary Chimurenga music by relying on Shona instrumental modes, in South Africa, the same cannot so easily be said. Since the goal of the white-run radio and recording industry is, as David Coplan notes in *In Township Tonight!*, "to expropriate African performance culture to use it to impose an apartheid version of African identity," black South Africans who look to their indigenous past conform neatly to apartheid's cultural designs.

Nowhere is this contradiction more apparent than in the development of the very music which has swept the defiant townships: *mbaqanga*. *Mbaqanga* actually had its genesis in the white-owned recording industry. Even the name, which it shares with the quickly made mealy bread that is a staple of the black South African diet, connotes easy results, namely, money for the industry. *Mbaqanga* appeared in the 1950s, and its major ingredient was the *marabi*, or pennywhistle jive music, which was commonplace in the townships' illegal drinking halls, the shebeens, where workers gathered to play whatever instruments were at hand: makeshift guitars, whistles, accordions, drums. Since musicians from many ethnic traditions intermingled there, so did their performance styles. All blended into

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a music called township jive.

Rather than recording the many worthy groups that emerged, and thereby lending official legitimacy to a black cultural development, industry scouts combed the townships and workers' hostels for new singers to front hired studio bands. (Many of the studio musicians, incidentally, were survivors of an earlier South African musical fatality, the integrated township jazz movement that was killed by the Group Areas Act of 1950.) With a little adaptation and polish, apolitical songs were tooled for the waiting market. It is that style which became *mbaqanga*. In its present form it employs the guitar, bass, organ and drums of American R&B and soul, occasionally supplemented by accordion and brass. Like its American counterpart, rock-and-roll, it is an all-embracing popular music with a voracious appetite for any influence within its reach. And, like rock-and-roll, it makes a lot of money. (For the industry, that is. The singers' pay and royalties are far below that of white singers.)

For those reasons and because it was musically so raw, *mbaqanga* was initially considered a garishly commercial aberration, and was shunned by the more educated and skilled blacks. American-influenced soul and disco artists such as Steve Kekana and Sipho "Hotsticks" Mabuse, and *marabi* groups like Ladysmith Black Mambazo, were more to their liking. (Paul Simon's decision to use *mbaqanga* musicians for his latest album, *Graceland*, must have been a source of bewilderment to the black middle class. The album, by the way, is surprisingly authentic and successful, though admittedly more precious—Simonized, you might say—than any purely *mbaqanga* effort. To his credit, Simon paid the musicians U.S. scale and double-scale, and shared a composer credit with Joseph Shabalala of Ladysmith.) Yet over the years *mbaqanga* has undergone a major transformation in the minds of many of its listeners. From the most inauspicious beginnings, it has become the major urban music form, a vital, thumping bass-and-drum-dominated mixture of jazz and Western instrumentation, with hallmark African call-and-response vocals, harmonies and staggered, cyclical rhythms. Like the best of African pop music, it is simultaneously pan-African and discernibly regional.

Even given the preponderance of romantic and strictly escapist lyrics in this music, there are still songs recorded which do echo the concerns of the people writing them. One, called in translation "The Man in the Black Coat," is about the debt collector: "Every payday I find him waiting for me outside the gate. He demands all my money even when I hide it." Though the song is not sung in English, a groaner keeps interjecting the words "money, money, money."

But by and large the South African Broadcasting Corporation, controlled since its inception by the rightist Afrikaans Broederbond, has kept topical lyrics off the air. The SABC demands that translations of lyrics be provided for examination before a song is considered for airplay. Not only are revolutionary political songs banned on black stations, but so are songs that mention a banned person or exiled leader. A few years ago, the lead singer of a South African reggae group was sentenced to three years in jail for recording an innocuous song about Nelson Mandela. He was charged with furthering the aims of a banned organization. Songs that use township slang—a sort of slapdash Esperanto which has developed in the multiethnic urban ghettos—are also banned. If a topical song passes censorship, it can be played only on the radio station of its language group. Given all that, record producers, many of them blacks who must report to white executives, vigilantly patrol the verses for any sign of political content. By now of course the censorship is internalized. As Joseph Shabalala of Ladysmith has said, "We keep the radio in mind when we compose. If something is contentious they don't play it, and then it wouldn't be known to the public anyway."

Another stranglehold on musical candor is strictly financial. Even the most popular *mbaqanga* group, the Soul Brothers, who sell millions of records and tour throughout the year, claim to make little more than they did as factory workers. Though there's reason to suspect hyperbole here, it is true that they must play almost constantly to make a living. And now that the rapidly devaluing rand is squeezing labels large and small into bankruptcy, the ante has been upped further.

With pressure from the regime so well orchestrated, the choices are few. Musicians who record political songs in South Africa risk being blacklisted, banned, having their passports revoked and being imprisoned. So few political songs surface, but when they do, word

dissent

announces
a special issue,
Fall 1986:

The Politics And Culture Of Reaganism

- All about greed, and glitz, and graft
- All about Bloomingdale's and the Metropolitan Museum
- All about David Stockman's delusions
- All about the scandals of unregulated industry
- All about fake machos in the movies
- All about much more

Contributors: Irving Howe, Debora Silverman, David Bromwich, Murray Hausknecht *. . . and more*

Sold out—and reprinted

Also: A special section on "Public Space," with articles by Michael Walzer, Michael Rustin, Marshall Berman

◆ ◆ ◆

At newsstands, bookstores, or send $4 (no billing) to:

DISSENT
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LE ROUGE ET LE NOIR!

Nation T-shirts are available in either le classique red or le basic black. Both T-shirts are 100 percent cotton with white lettering. "The Nation" is printed on the front and "Since 1865" on the back.

Cost **$9.95*** each, postpaid.

Special discount for tes holidays
3 or more, $7.95 each

Delivery in two weeks.

Please send me ____ red T-shirts in the following sizes __S, __M, __L, __XL.

Please send me ____ black T-shirts in the following sizes __S, __M, __L, __XL.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

Send orders to: The Nation, Box RN, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

*New York residents add appropriate sales tax. Foreign orders add 33 percent. Checks/money orders payable to The Nation.

RN8642

of mouth guarantees them brisk sales in the townships.

In Rhodesia, the pop artist Thomas Mapfumo became a central figure in the war against white rule. He was so important, in fact, that the government sought to use him to create support for their puppet candidate, Bishop Muzorewa. Forced at gunpoint to play before a Muzorewa rally, Mapfumo dared to perform *chimurenga*, liberation songs.

Within South Africa, Mapfumo has no counterpart. Through a deliberate muddling of the lines between black pride and compliance with apartheid, through a propaganda machine so deft it makes Rhodesia's seem crude by comparison, South Africa has so confused the most basic issues of identity that, with liberation a long way off, pop artists are damned whichever way they turn. For now, at least, the choices seem to be submission, prison or exile. □

Township Theater

ROB NIXON

Woza Afrika!: A Festival of South African Theater

By anybody's standards, the participants in this fall's Woza Afrika! festival at Lincoln Center have had to survive the most punishing of theatrical circumstances. Of the playwrights, Percy Mtwa (*Bhopa!*) has been detained for thirty days in the Transkei Bantustan; Matsemela Manaka (*Children of Asazi*) and Maishe Maponya (*Gangsters*) have had their work banned; and, when vigilantes from Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement stormed a performance of *Asinamali!* seeking the blood of the absent playwright, Mbongeni Ngema, they murdered the show's promoter in his stead. Moreover, one member of the original cast of *Asinamali!* was sentenced to eight years in prison for his role in the Lamontville rent strike, the very strike which touched off the play itself.

The daily conditions facing black directors, playwrights and actors in South Africa compound the effects of such naked state violence. There is still not one permanent theater or professional theater company in Soweto or in any of the other townships. The atmosphere at performances is often tense because of the presence of informers. State support has been denied to black directors who, in any case, regard such funding as compromising. Black township theater is far worse off than the multiracial theater at venues such as the Market Theatre, which, situated in the heart of Johannesburg, can tap a wealthier, white audience. While a small number of blacks may travel the prohibitive distance to the Market over weekends, it is rare for whites to attend theater in the townships. It is not so surprising then that, according to Maponya, talented but destitute actors have on occasion been lured away from amateur township productions by the state-run South African Broadcasting Corporation, the long arm of apartheid propaganda.

All the festival's plays have had runs at the Market, which has helped to sustain them financially, but most of them were devised specifically for the townships, where a broad renaissance in the performing arts has been developing since the late 1970s. In addition to community and trade-union theater, a tenacious tradition of poetic performance has arisen at mass funerals and rallies. The resistance movement nourishes those cultural forms, which often serve as political catalysts. For that reason, popular performances are particularly threatening to the regime; they can reach where printed material cannot: they require neither literacy nor the money to buy books.

In the townships, it is a short step from the street to the stage and back. The enacted violence, rage, fear and defiance reflect the experience of the communities from which the theater has emerged. In Manaka's words, "Black theater. . . . should not be imported from town, but must be produced and found where black people live. The squatters, slums and ghettos should be its stage. Mampara bricks, corrugated zinc, the mud and stench in the streets should be its costume."

Manaka raises, implicitly, the central dilemma for participants in the Woza Afrika! festival. What happens to the plays when they are exported to the Lincoln Center's Mitzi E. Newhouse Thea-

Rob Nixon is a South African academic and journalist currently residing in New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ter? There are two dimensions to this dilemma: funding and staging conditions. The financing of the festival has been criticized by those who fear cultural cooptation by companies eager to shore up influence in the arts, education and the unions. Organizations rendered financially vulnerable by apartheid are seeking to benefit from this funding yet simultaneously to preserve their integrity. Accepting funds often requires treading the fine line between much needed support and the kind of manipulative intervention that could ultimately jeopardize organizational autonomy.

The festival's funding dilemma is more easily stated than resolved, particularly as the plays have served the valuable function of giving Americans a wider perspective on South Africa's culture of resistance. For, in their political content, tradition of song and movement and relationship to their communities, they are quite different from the more self-consciously metropolitan theater of Athol Fugard, which, until now, has largely monopolized New York and London theatergoers' image of South African drama.

Theater audiences, no less than plays themselves, have their own traditions. The shift to Lincoln Center quite naturally had the effect of transforming the original relationship between these plays and their audiences. For theater that acknowledges a debt to California's El Teatro Campesino and Jerzy Grotowski's poor theater, for the fierce directness of plays like *Gangsters* and *Bopha!*, which assume the participation of township audiences, the plush ambience and emotional restraint of Lincoln Center seemed inappropriate. It is a pity—for both the festival's and the New York community's sake—that an alternative location wasn't arranged. I did see *Asinamali!* at the Roger Furman Theater in Harlem last year, where its power was intensified by a more intimate atmosphere and a more responsive audience.

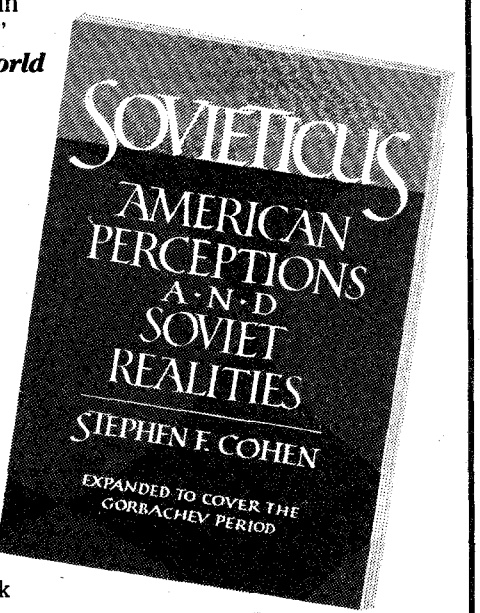
The awkwardness of the festival's venue was, if anything, exceeded by the incongruous responses of most of the New York critics. The political tone of the plays insured that sooner or later someone would ask, "But is it Art?" *Bopha!*, *Gangsters*, *Children of Asazi* and on occasion even *Asinamali!* were variously described as "agitprop," "melodrama," insufficiently "universal," and called to task for failing "to illuminate the human condition." In an article dripping with romanticism, *The New*

Expanded to Cover the Gorbachev Period

"Cohen ranks as one of America's foremost commentators on Soviet affairs.
His columns [in this book]...often open up small windows on the Soviet world, let in light, expose corners before kept in darkness by ignorance or prejudice."
—*Washington Post Book World*

"A model of scholarly journalism, sound and wonderfully readable."
—*Publishers Weekly*

"*Sovieticus* is the most balanced and perceptive commentary on the Soviet Union that I have read in a long time ...Indispensable."
—George McGovern



Now at bookstores. $7.95, paperback
NORTON
W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. 500 Fifth Ave. New York 10110

Writers and Researchers: Get Organized With SQUARENOTE™

The Idea Librarian

Make your IBM PC or look-alike deliver all the help you hoped for! SQUARENOTE is a text data base with an easy full-screen editor that handles word-wrap, tabs, and underlines but doesn't get in your way. It lets you make notes of up to 10 pages each, then file them under up to 100 subjects each.

You can retrieve related notes, sort them by first line– a big help for bibliographies – browse through them on the screen or send them to your printer or word processing program.

SQUARENOTE can even import text made by most word processors so you can use it to organize material you've already typed.

It comes with on-line context-sensitive help, a full tutorial and reference manual. It's very easy to learn.

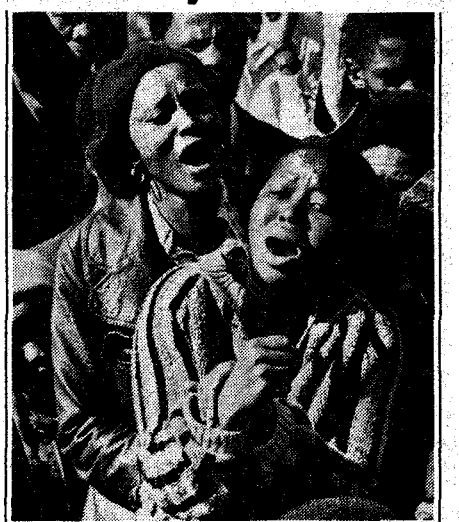
SQUARENOTE is the perfect tool for bibliographies, research notes, and all cataloguing tasks. Its simple but powerful operations on keywords make it ideal for building an index to your notebooks, collections or sketches.

Not copy protected. 30 day money back guarantee!

☐ YES. Send me SQUARENOTE.
Enclosed is $69.95+$4.50/s.h.
($3.50 tax for MA residents.)
☐ Check ☐ VISA ☐ MC Exp.
Acct#
Signature
Name
Address
City St Zip
☐ MAYBE. Send a free brochure.
UnionSquareware
P.O. Box 228 Somerville, MA 02143
617-623-3023 800-334-0854 N11-22

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOWETO
THE FRUIT OF FEAR
PETER MAGUBANE
Foreword by Desmond Tutu



IN 1976, BISHOP DESMOND TUTU warned the South African government that black people were growing increasingly restive under the oppressive yoke of apartheid and that he feared an eruption of violence if some minimum conditions were not met. Tutu's warnings were ignored, and on June 16, 1976 school children in the sprawling township of Soweto took to the streets in protest. They were met with brute force — tear gas and bullets. Approximately 700 people were killed and hundreds more were wounded in unrest which soon spread to the rest of the country. There has been no real peace or stability in South Africa since that day.

In this pictorial essay, Peter Magubane relates the events surrounding June 16 through his camera lens, giving a poignant eyewitness account in tribute to the fallen, and commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising.

Cloth, $29.95
Paper, $14.95

At your bookstore, or write:
684 WM. B. EERDMANS PUBLISHING CO.
255 JEFFERSON AVE. S.E. / GRAND RAPIDS, MICH. 49503

York Times's William H. Honan lectured the playwrights on the need to delve "into the unfathomable mysteries of the human soul"; then, disclosing his political colors, he added that "in a revolutionary society, true art comes to be regarded as conservative, if not reactionary." And so the wild goose of pure Art was chased clear across the theater pages of *The Times*, *The Village Voice* and *New York*.

The *Newsweek* piece on the festival struck me as symptomatic of the difficulties black South African playwrights have in getting their work understood. The article was attentive to remarks by Maponya, Manaka and festival executive director, Duma Ndlovu, on the need to escape from under the shadow of Nadine Gordimer, André Brink and Athol Fugard, who have become South Africa's dominant literary voices of dissent here. That monopoly, the black playwrights were quoted as saying, is undeserved. Yet *Newsweek* chose to drape those remarks with the headline: "Cry the Beloved Country." The main coverage in *The Times* was entitled "South African Dramas Echo Cries of the Beloved Country." Back to Alan Paton.

Instead of acknowledging that what is powerful in one context may be less so in another and instead of trying to understand the origins and ambitions of this theater, most reviewers treated the plays as if they had come to New York in search of artistic certification. Writing on *Children of Asazi* and *Gangsters* in *The Voice*, Gordon Rogoff made this extraordinary remark: "It's frustrating and infuriating that these plays are more threatening to the hideous Botha than flies to wanton boys." Does one detect here not only bewilderment and rage but also a hint of envy? In its rearguard battle against the hegemony of the moving image, American theater has become ever more marginal. Rogoff seems peeved that such "bad" South African theater (judged from his narrowly metropolitan avant-garde perspective) can retain a real connection to and influence on the society which produced it.

The warmest critical reception was reserved for *Born in the RSA*, a play devised by Barney Simon and a multiracial cast of seven actors. This collaborative effort works somewhat different territory from the other plays. It is centered on that part of the South African resistance where black and white lives intersect, sometimes sustaining, sometimes destroying each other. Perhaps its accessibility to New Yorkers was aided by the mixing of South African styles with Anglo-American influences—David Hare's *Fanshen* and the episodic narrative of Robert Patrick's *Kennedy's Children* spring to mind. So, too, with the multimedia effects, particularly the use of newsreel footage to help bridge the gap between South Africa and the U.S. experience of South Africa.

Maponya's *Gangsters* can best be viewed as reflexive commentary on the power of South Africa's popular-opposition culture. The central figure, the poet Masechaba, is detained, persecuted and ultimately murdered by a white police officer and his black quisling, primarily because of her thundering poetic performances at one of the sacred sites of resistance, Regina Mundi. Although the published version of *Gangsters* calls for a male lead, Maponya rescripted the role for a woman. Nomathemba Nomvume Mdini brought her considerable energy to the part of the uninhibited, resilient captive poet. Moreover, by that point in the festival—after the solidly male productions of *Asinamali!* and *Bopha!*—the lack of any female stage presence was becoming a matter for criticism. According to Maponya, township plays sometimes have to be rescripted for men as there are so many obstacles in the way of women actors. The working-class nature of this theater makes evenings crucial for rehearsal—the very time when women return home to their "second job." The difficulties for women are also compounded by their husbands' reluctance to countenance their independent activities.

Although the plays are all marked by the binding laughter of satire and mimicry, *Asinamali!* is especially effective at the kind of humor that blends easily into anger. Much of the wit and rage in *Asinamali!* derives from the migrant workers' resourcefulness in their quest for permits in a society choked by a racist bureaucracy. At one point the mechanized society is figured forth by a five-man synchronized mime of an entire industrial complex, complete with mechanical hissings, whirs, rotations and grindings; at the other end of the emotional spectrum is the closing roll call of "wasted people," a list that includes Nelson and Winnie Mandela, Steve Biko, Albert Luthuli and Bram Fischer.

If there is one word that speaks the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mood of the entire festival, it is *Bopha!*, the punning title of Mtwa's play. The word means both "arrest" and "unite" or "strap together." For this theater stages not only the binding of wrists with handcuffs but the binding of people through collective acts of resistance. Mtwa portrays the tension between the two senses of *bopha* most lucidly in a scene where a spineless black policeman tries to dissuade his jailed son from his activism. If he desists, the father will arrange his release. With a carefully paced gesture that is determined but not facile, the youth tearfully lowers his head, shakes it and pushes a clenched fist through the air. In that simple, iconic moment, Mtwa delivers a reminder—echoes of Mandela here—that release is not to be confused with liberation. □

BOOK NOTES.

What follows is a selection from the vast number of books recently published on South Africa.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SOUTH AFRICA: A Reference Guide to Movements, Organizations and Institutions. *By Rob Davies, Dan O'Meara and Sipho Dlamini. Zed Books (distributed by Biblio Distribution Center, 81 Adams Drive, Totowa, NJ 07512). Two volumes. 440 pp. $29.50 per volume. Paper $10.75 per volume.* An authoritative reference guide, *Struggle* provides a historical overview of apartheid, including discussions of the basic laws, political organizations and military structures, followed by detailed descriptions of antiapartheid groups and coalitions, including the unions, community groups and political parties. The listing does not claim to be exhaustive, and yet it describes more than 200 organizations. The sheer number of opposition groups attests to the resilience of the struggle.

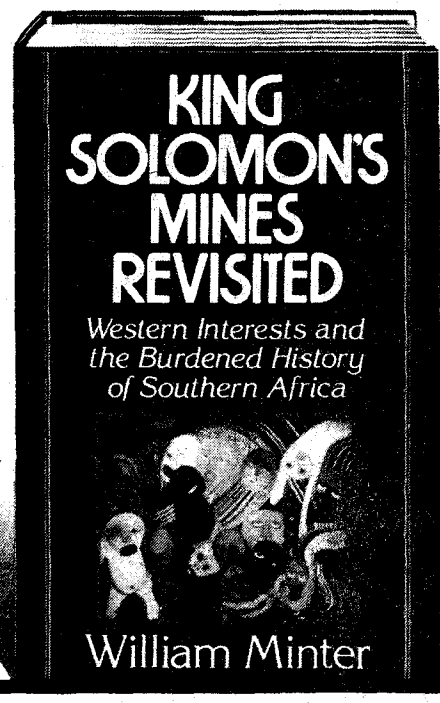
AFRICAN POLITICS: Crises and Challenges. *By J. Gus Liebenow. Indiana University Press. 305 pp. $32.50. Paper $12.50.* A well-balanced presentation of regional and internal policy issues as they affect African nation-states and U.S. foreign policy. Chapter IV, "Apartheid and the Clash of Nationalisms," is especially notable for its succinct review of the factors currently controlling the South African political situation.

"A penetrating challenge to wishful thinking and unexamined assumptions."
—*THOMAS G. KARIS, City College, CUNY*

"A history of the past that makes sense of the present and empowers those who wish to change the future."
—*JENNIFER DAVIS, American Committee on Africa*

"This book will be controversial, but its critics will be hard-pressed to match its cogency and depth of documentation."
—*GEORGE M. FREDRICKSON, Stanford University*

"Must reading."
—*RANDALL ROBINSON, TransAfrica*



$21.95 at bookstores, or direct from the publisher. Toll-free (800) 638-3030. Major credit cards accepted.
BASIC BOOKS, INC.
10 East 53rd St., New York 10022.

WILLIAM J. POMEROY

APARTHEID, IMPERIALISM AND AFRICAN FREEDOM

Paper **$6.95**
Cloth **$14.00**

NEW TITLES

WRITE or PHONE for Free Catalog

Prepaid orders of $10 or more sent postpaid.

	Cloth	Paper
On the Battle-Lines 1919–1939 *Art Shields*	**$14.00**	**$6.95**
My Tale of Two Worlds *Lement Harris*	**$14.00**	**$6.95**
WARWORDS: U.S. Militarism, the Catholic Right and the "Bulgarian Connection" *Eisenhower/Murray*		**$3.95**
The Challenges of Our Time: Disarmament and Social Progress, Highlights of the 27th Congress, CPSU. **GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL, et al.**		**$4.95**

Master Card or VISA — Minimum order $15.00 net.

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS CO., Inc.
381 Park Ave. So. NYC 10016 (212) 685-2864

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A HISTORY OF AFRICA. *By Hosea Jaffe. Zed Books. 172 pp. $23.25. Paper $9.95.* An unusual historical analysis of some of the foundations of racism in Africa, and an account of essential differences between European and African cultures. Jaffe argues that the notions of race and property were European ideas unsuited to African culture. He traces the way in which racism became not only a rationale for conquest but also a means of conquest and of rule.

THE STRUGGLE IS MY LIFE. *By Nelson Mandela. Pathfinder. 250 pp. $23. Paper $6.95.* Mandela writes with the calm authority of a man speaking the will of his constituency. His very circumspection is inspiring. The only "desperate resistance" he mentions is the government's. Readers who wonder how an African National Congress with an armed wing can continue to emphasize a policy of nonviolence should consult Mandela's "Second Court Statement" at the Rivonia trial, which is an eloquent defense of the critical shift in A.N.C. policy. Perhaps his most memorable statement here is the one declining President P.W. Botha's 1985 offer of release if Mandela would agree "unconditionally [to] reject violence as a political instrument." "Let [Botha] renounce violence," Mandela writes. "Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts."

NELSON MANDELA: The Man and the Movement. *By Mary Benson. W.W. Norton. 268 pp. $16.95. Paper $7.95.* A straightforward, clear and informative account of a life characterized by devotion to a struggle. At the outset Mandela is described as virulently anticommunist; eventually he comes to appreciate the communists as the "only political group in South Africa who were prepared to treat Africans as human beings and their equals; who were prepared to eat with us, talk with us, live with us, and work with us."

I WRITE WHAT I LIKE. *By Steve Biko. Harper & Row. 216 pp. Paper $7.95.* Articles, lectures, the trial transcript, and letters by the "father" of the black consciousness movement. Biko's is an eloquent and impassioned voice, strangely without bitterness. He was never anti-white, as is sometimes charged, but cautioned against a "hastily arranged integration" which he considered as absurd as "expecting the slave to work together with the slave-master's son to remove all the conditions leading to the former's enslavement." Integration must be well timed: "Once the various groups within a given community have asserted themselves to the point that mutual respect has to be shown then you have the ingredients for a true and meaningful integration."

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS IN SOUTH AFRICA. *By Robert Fatton Jr. State University of New York Press. 189 pp. $42.50. Paper $14.95.* Although burdened by its self-consciously scholarly Marxist apparatus, *Black Consciousness* is a useful guide to this important movement. As Fatton notes, the "armor of coercion" protecting white hegemony in South Africa relies in part on some form of consent from the African population. The black consciousness movement represents a counterideology of resistance to white supremacy. It attempts to liberate blacks from the submissiveness that contributes to their own enslavement.

THE CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA. *By John S. Saul and Stephen Gelb. Monthly Review Press. 245 pp. $26. Paper*

Recent Books on South Africa from St. Martin's Scholarly

A History of the African People of South Africa
From the Early Iron Age to the 1970s
Paul Maylam, University of Natal
1986 ISBN 0-312-37511-5 $32.50

Jan Christian Smuts
The Conscience of a South African
Kenneth Ingham, University of Bristol
1986 ISBN 0-312-43997-0 $29.95

Soviet Policy Towards South Africa
Kurt M. Campbell, Harvard University
1986 ISBN 0-312-74853-1 $32.50

Black Advancement in the South African Economy
edited by Roy Smollan, Mangosuthu Technikon
January ISBN 0-312-08253-3 $35.00

South Africa
The Political Economy of Apartheid
Alf Stadler, University of the Witwatersrand
March ISBN 0-312-74700-4 $35.00

St. Martin's Press
Scholarly and Reference Books Division
175 Fifth Avenue • New York, NY 10010
(212) 674-5151, or (800) 221-7945

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$10. An excellent synthesis requiring some familiarity with South African history. *Crisis* is especially strong on the internal economics of apartheid. Originally published in 1981, this revision includes substantial new chapters concerning the present crisis and the future prospects of the liberation struggle.

SOUTH AFRICA WITHOUT APARTHEID. *By Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley. University of California Press. 300 pp. $17.95.* The authors ask all the relevant questions here: How has apartheid survived so long? What will cause its collapse? What kind of society can be expected to replace it? The authors express a well-reasoned optimism and suggest that the interests of whites and blacks in South Africa are not as polarized as they have been made to seem: "Common Christian values and a common Westernized consumerism engender similar aspirations." The perspective is common-sensical and to the point; one only wishes it didn't sound so distant while the guns of war sound so near.

APARTHEID IN CRISIS. *Edited by Mark A. Uhlig. Vintage. 334 pp. Paper $5.95.* This book presents itself as a sampler of all sides of the issues and is especially careful to have no point of view. As if to parrot the separatist reality, there is a section on "White Politics" with a subsection on "White Voices," and a section on "Black Politics" with a subsection on "Black Voices." Short contributions by Bishop Tutu, Nadine Gordimer and J.M. Coetzee seem eerily out of place next to a strident speech by P.W. Botha and a pleasantly descriptive interview with Nelson Mandela by a British lord. Nonetheless, the long article at the end by David Martin and Phyllis Johnson on South Africa's destabilization of its neighbor states is required reading. DAN SIMON

KING SOLOMON'S MINES REVISITED: Western Interests and the Burdened History of Southern Africa. *By William Minter. Basic Books. 401 pp. $21.95.* At times poetic, with allusions to literature and song, and at others dense, with seas of acronyms, this book describes one hundred years of South African relations with Mozambique and Zimbabwe, Namibia and Angola, and with Washington and London as well. It is a book for those well versed in South Africa's current upheaval but uncertain about its history; it is for those familiar with apartheid's impact within the country's borders but unclear about Pretoria's interactions with the region's black-ruled states; and it is for those conversant with the voices of the leaders of the liberation movements but uninformed about the visions and vested interests of U.S. and European policy-makers. Deserving of mention: the guide to sources, arranged by scholarly paradigm—colonial, liberal and Marxist—as well as by topic, country and era. ROBIN EPSTEIN

RESOURCES.

Below is a directory of organizations and media groups that have tried, over the years, to inform Americans about South Africa, apartheid and divestment. The directory is by no means definitive, but it lists the major national organizations and provides a guide for individuals and institutions that want to see change in South Africa. It was compiled with the help of Brad Kessler and Ruth Yodaiken.

ORGANIZATIONS

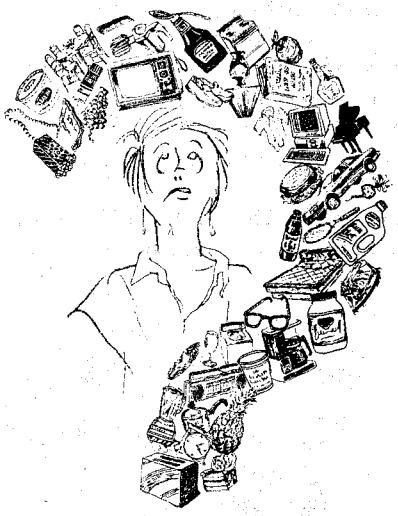
Africa Fund/American Committee on Africa
198 Broadway
New York, NY 10038
(212) 962-1210
This organization publishes pamphlets and newsletters on divestment and sanctions, and it acts as a referral service for antiapartheid organizations throughout the country. It also distributes information on specific topics and regional issues. The Africa Fund Refugee Project provides aid to South African and Namibian refugees in southern Africa.

Africa Resource Center
464 19th Street
Oakland, CA 94612
(415) 763-8011
The A.R.C. offers research services, a curriculum assistance program, and slide and cassette collections on South Africa for use by educators.

African National Congress of South Africa
801 Second Avenue, Suite 405
New York, NY 10017
(212) 490-3487
The A.N.C.'s national office provides speakers, an information service, pamphlets, videos and films, and also publishes *ANC Weekly News Briefing* ($20/year) and the monthly *Sechaba* ($12/year).

American Friends Service Committee
Southern Africa Program/NARMIC
1501 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, PA 19102
(215) 241-7169
A.F.S.C.'s Southern Africa Program pro-

BOYCOTT Everything



You don't have to boycott everything to support social and economic justice. Substantial changes have come about simply as the result of a single successful boycott.

Look at the boycott of Nestlé. Already, countless numbers of children in Third World countries have been saved by that boycott success.

The recent success of the Campbell boycott shows great promise for improving the working and living conditions for tens of thousands of migrant farmworkers living in the midwest U.S.

The NATIONAL BOYCOTT NEWSLETTER lists those boycotts called by groups concerned about human and civil rights, peace, labor, animal rights, environmental, and women's issues. We give you the reasons behind the boycotts, as well as who called them, and recent developments.

You Also Get:
- **In-depth articles** examining various concerns. A recent issue looked at the role corporations play in the destruction of Latin American rainforests.
- **The Corporate Dossier** tells you what multinationals are doing that you should know about. *Do you buy goods from a company which funds the contras? Which companies continue to operate in South Africa?*
- **Alternative companies and products**
- **Corporations' replies** to the boycotts
- **Features** on current boycotts
- **An informational column** on socially responsible investing
- and much, much more.

Join the Boycott Movement
For a 1-year subscription (4 issues), send $5 to:

NATIONAL BOYCOTT NEWSLETTER
6506 28th Ave. N.E., Seattle, WA 98115
(206) 523-0421

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OXFAM AMERICA

Nonprofit international relief and development agency which funds Third World projects has the following Boston-based positions available in its Overseas Programs Department.

DIRECTOR, OVERSEAS PROGRAMS

Motivated and articulate development professional needed to assume primary responsibility for overseas programs. Requires minimum 3 years experience supervising headquarters staff and 5 plus years overseas experience, preferably working for change at the grass-roots level. Experienced in designing and managing progressive development programs with small-scale partner organizations. Demonstrated administrative and communications skills. Salary: low $40s plus benefits.

SOUTHERN AFRICA DESK OFFICER

Seek program representative to provide support to overseas programs team in the areas of project monitoring and development and program administration. Also, responsible for providing information and maintaining projects communication. Requires substantial academic training and familiarity with grass-roots development issues and southern Africa. Demonstrated administrative and analytical abilities and communications skills. Previous work or travel in region and fluency in Portuguese preferred. Salary: $18,788 plus benefits.

To apply for either position, please send letter and resume by December 15, 1986, to: Recruitment Committee-OVN, Oxfam America, 115 Broadway, Boston, MA 02116. AA/EOE.

audio-forum® offers the best in self-instructional foreign language courses using audio cassettes, featuring those used to train U.S. State Dept. personnel. We have 127 courses in 45 languages, so we must have what you need.

Learn a foreign language on your own! Free Catalog

To get your copy:

Call toll-free: 1-800-243-1234

or fill out and send this ad to –

Audio-Forum
Room 860, On-the-Green
Guilford, CT 06437
(203) 453-9794

Name

Address Apt. #

City

State/Zip

I am particularly interested in (check choice):
☐ Spanish ☐ French ☐ German ☐ Polish
☐ Greek ☐ Russian ☐ Vietnamese
☐ Bulgarian ☐ Turkish ☐ Hausa
☐ Other

vides materials and research assistance on South Africa, southern Africa and Namibia, and conducts educational seminars throughout the United States. National Action Research on the Military-Industrial Complex (NARMIC) provides a listing of all U.S.-based companies operating in South Africa and has published studies such as "Automating Apartheid," "Challenge and Hope," "Mini Guide to Apartheid" and "Roots of the Struggle." A.F.S.C. also publishes a quarterly, "The United States Anti-apartheid Newsletter" ($10/year).

Amnesty International
322 Eighth Avenue
New York, NY 10001
(212) 807-8400
Amnesty works to secure the release of South African political prisoners and to improve their treatment while in prison. Its South Africa Campaign, launched in 1986, supplies information and suggests actions to religious groups, unions, lawyers, health workers and the media. Its report "South Africa: An Amnesty International Briefing, 1986" which documents cases of detention without trial, the use of torture and the death penalty, is available for $4.

Art Against Apartheid
P.O. Box 1355
Stuyvesant Station
New York, NY 10009
(212) 219-0530
Art Against Apartheid organizes exhibits, performances and educational forums. It is an independent, multiracial and politically diverse coalition of artists working in the United States. It recently produced a special anthology of art for liberation with *IKON* magazine ($7.50).

Clergy and Laity Concerned
A Covenant Against Apartheid,
at Home and Abroad
198 Broadway, Room 302
New York, NY 10038
(212) 964-6730
The Covenant is an umbrella organization for congregations that support divestment. It produces a packet, in Jewish or Christian format, that includes information on South Africa, as well as suggestions for boycotts and other actions ($5).

Committee for Health in Southern Africa (CHISA)
630 West 168th Street, Box 11
New York, NY 10032
(212) 305-6866
The committee is run by medical professionals and has no full-time staff, but it has chapters throughout the United States and is affiliated with the antiapartheid National Medical and Dental Association in South Africa. CHISA supplies up-to-date information on health and health care in southern Africa, organizes conferences and has compiled a bibliography, which can be obtained free of charge.

Congressional Monitoring Group on Southern Africa
2232 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515
(202) 225-3335
The group's fifty-five members of Congress keep track of South Africa–related legislation, sponsor staff briefings, run seminars on their findings and circulate letters to their colleagues.

Council on Economic Priorities
30 Irving Place
New York, NY 10003
(212) 420-1133
The council is a clearinghouse for information and research on investment and shareholder activity. It publishes a monthly newsletter ($12/year).

Episcopal Churchpeople for a Free Southern Africa
339 Lafayette Street
New York, NY 10012
(212) 477-0066
This organization monitors political prisoners and detainees and their families in South Africa and Namibia. It provides an information service, occasional publications and a biweekly bulletin with information from the Namibia Communications Center in London.

Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility
475 Riverside Drive, Room 566
New York, NY 10015
(212) 870-2928
The I.C.C.R. coordinates church divestment actions, shareholder resolutions, negotiations with companies and testimony before Congress and local governments. It publishes a newsletter, "The Corporate Examiner" ($12/year).

Investor Responsibility Research Center Inc.
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Suite 600
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 939-6500
This group provides apolitical research on investors in South Africa, primarily for institutions and corporations. Its directory, "U.S. and Canadian investment in South Africa," includes the Sullivan ratings of every U.S. company in South Africa, as well as a list of leading U.S. banks and their policies on lending to South Africa ($175).

Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law
Southern Africa Project
1400 I Street, N.W., Suite 400
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 371-1212
The only U.S. organization directly involved in litigation in South Africa and Namibia, the committee assists in the defense of political prisoners. It provides legal briefs, sends trial observers and fights to provide lawyers for detainees. It also publishes annual reports and provides free literature on torture and death in detention, security laws under the State of Emergency and the pass laws.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

National Conference of Black Lawyers
Southern Africa Committee
126 West 119th Street
New York, NY 10026
(212) 864-4000
Part of the conference's international section, the committee has chapters throughout the United States, in Canada and the Caribbean. It provides lawyers for those involved in demonstrations against apartheid at South Africa's embassies and consulates, prepares testimony and reports for the U.N. Center Against Apartheid, and provides public speakers.

National Namibia Concerns
860 Emerson
Denver, CO 80218
(303) 830-2774
This grass-roots educational organization has a good film and video library. It provides speakers and publishes a quarterly, "Namibia Newsletter."

New York Anti-apartheid Coordinating Council
c/o District 65 U.A.W.
13 Astor Place
New York, NY 10003
(212) 673-5120
The council is an umbrella group for some 200 labor, union, church and community groups, and elected officials. It helped organize the protest in New York's Central Park last June; it runs an ongoing campaign for the divestment of New York State pension funds and raises money for South African trade unions and liberation organizations such as the A.N.C. and the U.D.F.

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
Permanent Observer Mission to the U.N.
211 East 43d Street, Suite 703
New York, NY 10017
(212) 986-7378
This U.N. mission makes available educational literature and videos. It publishes "Azania News" eight times a year ($2.50/issue).

Shell Boycott
c/o National Mine Workers Union
900 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 842-7200
This is a coalition of unions, churches, anti-apartheid and civil rights groups. It publishes the monthly "Shell Boycott Bulletin" and protests Royal Dutch Shell's continued business activities in South Africa.

South West African People's Organization
Permanent Observer Mission to the U.N.
801 Second Avenue, Room 1401
New York, NY 10017
(212) 557-2450
Swapo's U.N. mission provides information, books and films on Namibia.

TransAfrica
585 Eighth Street, S.E.
Washington, DC 20003
(202) 547-2550
This lobbying group for Africa and the Caribbean has been a major force in mobilizing Congressional and grass-roots support for sanctions against South Africa. It coordinates the Free South Africa Movement, which organizes demonstrations outside the South African Embassy in Washington. The group also sponsors Artists and Athletes Against Apartheid and publishes a quarterly magazine, *TransAfrica Forum*, ($20/year individual, $35/year institutions).

U.N. Center Against Apartheid
United Nations
New York, NY 10017
(212) 754-5512
The center distributes copies of resolutions and speeches on South Africa delivered at the U.N. It also provides pamphlets, buttons, posters and other antiapartheid material.

U.N. Center on Transnational Corporations
United Nations
New York, NY 10017
(212) 754-3176
The center maintains a list of companies doing business in South Africa, titled "Transnational Corporations with interests in South Africa or Namibia."

South Africa in Struggle
A special issue of MONTHLY REVIEW

"Critical for anyone who really wants to understand the situation in southern Africa."—**Richard Knight, American Committee on Africa**

"An ideal resource for the classroom, study groups, and political activists."—**Third World Resources**

The readable and in-depth articles in this special expanded issue of *Monthly Review* analyze the contending forces in South Africa today. Contributors explore the political and economic strategy of the ruling class; the apartheid state's role in the region; South Africa's relationship with the United States; the changing and complex role of the church, women, youth, trade unions, and community groups.

$3.00 each.
Reduced rates in bulk

Crisis in South Africa
John S. Saul and Stephen Gelb

"One of the most useful single sources for an understanding of the economic and political crisis in South Africa . . ."—**Canadian Dimension**

"This work is an attempt to grapple with the complex theoretical problems of the South African revolution going well beyond the presentation of the injustices of apartheid. . . . But there can be no doubt about the relevance of the book for all those interested in the South African revolution, including the members of the movements themselves. . . . an important addition to the literature on the South African revolution."—**Journal of African Marxists**
$10.00 PB7069

At your bookstore or directly from

MONTHLY REVIEW PRESS
155 West 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10011
(212) 691-2555

Please add $1.50 for the first book, and 25¢ for each additional book, when ordering by mail. To pay with MasterCard or VISA, designate which card, card number, and expiration date. $10.00 minimum.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONSIDER THE ALTERNATIVES

SANE'S
NATIONALLY SYNDICATED
WEEKLY RADIO PROGRAM.

NEW YORK
WBAI–FM, 99.5
Fridays, 1 pm

SAN FRANCISCO
KALW–FM, 90.7
Fridays, 1 pm
KPFA–FM, 94.1
Tuesdays, 8 pm

LOS ANGELES
KPFK–FM, 94.7
Fridays, 3:30 pm

and 135 other stations coast-to-coast

CAR, House, College

What do these have in common? Costs, steadily increasing costs. How do you select the best course of action? We have several computer programs that will **help**.
CAR: Trade your present car or keep it a while longer? **Cost comparisons** for the next several years.
HOUSE: How to **select a house** within your financial means or potential. Analyses of **equity, tax deductions, monthly payments, affordability.**
COLLEGE: A 4-year college will cost over $100,000 in 10-15 years. How *much* should you start **saving now** under 6 different options? **FREE** details.
StyleArt, 2126 Fairway Cir., Suite 60, Atlanta, GA 30319

Remember family or friends with Special Occasion, Get Well or Memorial cards.

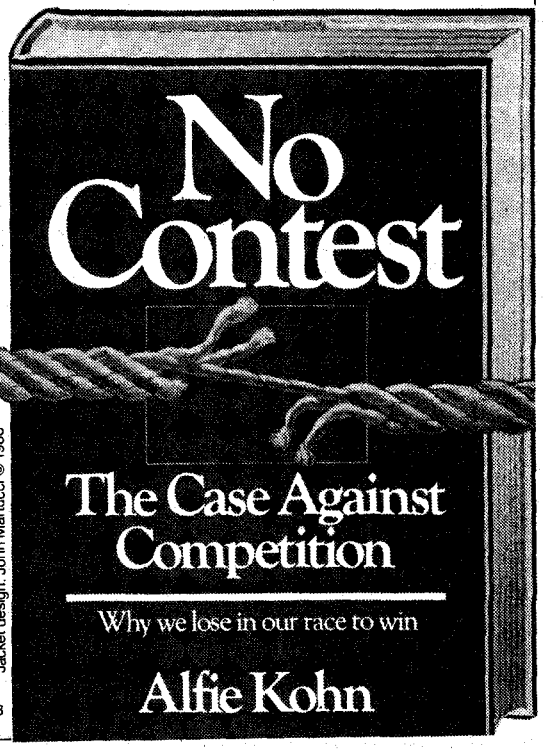
WE'RE FIGHTING FOR YOUR LIFE

American Heart Association

PHILIP SLATER CALLS IT—

"A brilliant debunking of America's most popular sacred cow."

"In the land in which winning is identified with success, in which games have become big business, contact sports have become fan-gratifying collisions, and foreign policy con-frontational rather than conciliatory, the disease of competition urgently needs atten-tion. This is what Alfie Kohn gives us in this excellent book."
—ASHLEY MONTAGU



Houghton Mifflin Company
2 Park Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02108
© Houghton Mifflin Company 1986

Jacket design: John Martucci © 1986

Washington Office on Africa
110 Maryland Avenue, N.E.
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 546-7961
This group, supported by church and labor organizations, lobbies for antiapartheid legislation in Congress and provides videos and educational materials. It publishes a quarterly newsletter, "The Washington Notes on Africa" ($15/year, single copies 25 cents).

MEDIA

Africa News Service
P.O. Box 3851
Durham, NC 27702
(919) 286-0747
The service publishes a biweekly newsletter, "Africa News," a comprehensive and up-to-date source of information on South Africa ($30/year individual, $48/year organizations). It is a nonprofit, tax-exempt agency and supplies news and feature material to broadcast and print media.

Africa Report
833 U.N. Plaza
New York, NY 10017
(212) 949-5666
This bimonthly report provides general political and economic coverage of Africa ($21/year).

Africa Today
Africa Today Associates and School of International Studies
University of Denver
Denver, CO 80208
(303) 871-3678
Founded by the American Committee on Africa, the journal is for an academic audience (15/year individual, $30/year organizations).

Africa World Press Inc.
P.O. Box 1892
Trenton, NJ 08608
(609) 695-3766
The press is a publisher and clearinghouse of research and educational materials on social, political and economic conditions in southern Africa. Its catalogue includes a variety of hard-to-find books.

Media Network
121 Fulton Street, 5th Floor
New York, NY 10038
(212) 661-3455
Media Network acts as a referral service. It also publishes *Media Network's Guide to Films on Apartheid and the Southern Africa Region*, which evaluates and describes about forty-five films, videotapes and slide shows ($2.50, including postage).

New Pages
4426 South Belfray Road
Grand Blanc, WI 48439
(313) 743-8055
New Pages is a review journal about the alternative press. Its Fall 1986 issue, "Amandla:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SUBSCRIBING TO OUR PRINCIPLES ISN'T ENOUGH.

You should be subscribing to our magazine, too.

Because *The Nation* brings you the likes of Alexander Cockburn, Stephen F. Cohen and Penny Lernoux in every issue. They're not only some of the best writers around—they do their best writing for us.

The Nation.

THE NATION
BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305

YES! I WANT TO SUBSCRIBE TO YOUR MAGAZINE, TOO. Send me 24 issues of The Nation for $15, a savings of a full 50 percent off the newsstand price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

NAME (Please Print)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

☐ Double my savings. Send me a full year (47 issues) for $28.
☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!
☐ Please bill me later.

Add: Foreign postage: $4.50/24 issues; $9/one year. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D8642

Attack on Apartheid," is a useful resource for researchers and activists. It is published three times a year ($12/six issues).

Southern Africa Media Center
630 Natoma Street
San Francisco, CA 94103
(415) 621-6196
The center, formed after the Soweto uprisings in 1976, is the most widely used source for films and videocassettes on South Africa. The center publishes a guide, "Together/Against Apartheid: Using Video to Stimulate Grassroots Foreign Policy." For a free catalogue, contact the center.

Southern Africa Media Education Project
c/o TransAfrica (see organizations list)
The project assists the media in gaining a deeper understanding of southern Africa and the impact of U.S. foreign policy on the region. It works with a variety of antiapartheid groups in the United States and with leaders of self-determination movements throughout southern Africa.

Southern Africa Report
427 Bloor Street, West
Toronto, Ontario M5S 1X7
Canada
(416) 967-5562
Published by the Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa, the report, which comes out five times a year, lists new publications and is a source of information on women's, labor and people's movements in southern Africa, as well as on sanctions ($15/year individual, $30/year organizations). The committee acts as an information network in Canada, issuing a free monthly bulletin, "What's the Word."

Join the Nation Associates, a group of loyal and committed *Nation* readers who provide invaluable support for the magazine through annual contributions of $20 or more. Membership includes "The Nation Associate," a newsletter that tells you what's going on behind the scenes at *The Nation*, and invitations to many *Nation*-sponsored events.

For further information write or call Nancy Bacher, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, (212) 242-8400. Make checks payable to The Nation Associates.

When drafting your will, please consider making a bequest to *The Nation*.

For information, write or call: Office of the Publisher, *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (212) 242-8400.

EVENTS.

WHAT'S HAPPENING?

Films on Contemporary Social and Political Issues.

A Tribute to the International Documentary Association. Clips from recent award winners.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 3 AND 6:30 PM

The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street, New York City

Museum admission is on a pay-what-you-wish basis after 5 pm on Thursday.

Spartacist Forum

U.S. WORKERS: SMASH THE WAR ON NICARAGUA!

Speaker: Jan Norden, editor, Workers Vanguard, Spartacist League Central Committee

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 4 PM

Borough of Manhattan Community College,
Room N-402
199 Chambers Street, New York City

For more information (212) 267-1025.

Premiere video showing of

RELIABILITY AND RISK: COMPUTERS AND NUCLEAR WAR

Also, "What Is Professional Responsibility," an opinionated overview by Dr. Susan Merritt, Dean of Information Systems, Pace University.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 7:30 PM

The New School, Swayduck Auditorium
Fifth Avenue and 14th Street, New York City

Admission free.

Reception in celebration of

The 25th Anniversary of the FSLN
and in commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the death of Comandante Carlos Fonseca

Guest Speakers: Nora Astorga, Nicaraguan Ambassador to the U.N., and Daisy Zamora, the Nicaraguan Vice Minister of Culture.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 8 PM

N.Y.U. Law School, the Greenberg Lounge
40 Washington Square South, New York City

Admission $5.

For information call Casa Nicaragua (212) 769-4293.

SUNDAY AT EL BOHIO

In conjunction with the exhibition of painting from Central America "The Cross Is Not For Sale"

Poetry: Zoe Anglesy, Pedro Pietri and Mirna Martinez, a Salvadoran poet.

Speaker: Darlene Nicgorski, Sanctuary worker and defendant in a recent Sanctuary trial.

Film: "No Middle Ground," a film about the Sanctuary movement by John Kane. Also, viewing of a work-in-progress about Nicaraguan women and the war, by Alice Christov and John Kane.

Slide Presentation: By the Lower East Side Sister City Project.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 23, 2 to 5 PM

La Galeria in El Bohio
605 E. 9th Street at Avenue B, New York City

For further information call (212) 226-8662.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to refuse any advertisement that we believe to be fraudulent, illegal or offensive, The Nation *wishes its readers to know: a) we do not have the facilities to check out the promises made by our advertisers; and b) we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

APARTMENTS AND HOUSES

SABBATICAL SUBLET: Seek quiet, responsible cat/plant lover. Brownstone floor-through in Jersey City. Low rent, nice neighbors. 15 minutes NYC. Low rent, nice neighbors, neighbors. 15 minutes NYC. January to June. Nation Box 205.

BOOKS

COCHRAN MEMORIAL OFFER—$5—*Welfare Capitalism–And After* by Bert Cochran. "Just as the capitalist system of production (took) root under monarchies and republics alike—so the state capitalist trends of our day find realization under free enterprise as under social-democratic regimes."—B.C. A must in understanding the politico-economic direction of our times. Write: Copeland-Cochran, 111 W. 94th Street, New York, NY 10025 (Dec. mailing).

ENVIRONMENTAL BANKS keep money clean. Paperback explains. $3. Philip Marden, Highwood-Easton Avenue, Somerset, NJ 08873.

DEADLOCK AT WALLA WALLA. Underground prison exposé tells it all. 327 pages. Send $9.95 to: Somerton Press, Box 1746, Somerton, AZ 85350.

BOOKMARK points to where reading stopped. Paperback 8 1/4", 9 1/4", 10", 10 3/8", 11" (trim size). 2 for $1. Edward W. LeRoy, 4525 Kennedy Boulevard, North Bergen, NJ 07047.

SOVIETICUS LITERATUS. Try giving our 3-, 8-, or 12-month "Preferred Selections Plan" to the person of your choice—maybe yourself!—and have them receive monthly shipments of our finest English-language titles in literature, science or politics from the USSR. Plans start at $20; savings up to 40 percent! For details and credit card orders, call toll-free (800) 345-2665 (in Illinois and Arkansas, (312) 787-9017 or write to Imported Publications, 320 W. Ohio Street, Chicago IL 60610. Call now! Ask for our free catalog, too!

BOOKSTORES

". . . yours is the best used-book shop in the country—truly!"
—Michael Lowy, author of *The Politics of Combined & Uneven Development* and *The Marxism of Che Guevara.*

When in Los Angeles come by and browse or send for a free mail-order catalogue of selected new titles in theory, literary criticism, history, media, Third World studies and more. **Bookworks**, 3517 Centinela Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90066.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY

PUBLISHING COMPANY FOR SALE: Thirty feminist, social-change titles. Times Change Press, Albion, CA 95410-0187.

CASSETTES

NOAM CHOMSKY, Recent lectures: U.S. Foreign Policy in Central America, Roots of U.S. National Security Policy, Palestinian Future. $8 each cassette. David Barsamian, Box 94, Crestone, CO 81131.

COMPUTERS

PC COMMANDS and procedures at your fingertip. Explanations, examples. Four guides: frequently used DOS commands; advanced DOS commands, procedures; frequently used BASIC statements, keywords; preventive care and trouble shooting. FREE details. StyleArt, 2126 Fairway, Suite 60, Atlanta, GA 30319.

CONVENTIONS

PROVISIONAL WORLD PARLIAMENT, Third Session, June 1987, Miami Beach, Florida, invites delegates and support to gain democratic control over world events for good of humanity. Write: Parliament, 1480 Hoyt Street, Suite 31, Lakewood, CO 80215.

COOKING

TASTY, HEALTHY food for progressives and community activists who are short on time. In time for the holidays. Recipes include chili with spaghetti, country fried chicken, blueberry cobbler, poppyseed cake, sauerkraut with sausage, stew fried corn, sweet potato pudding, velvety macaroni and cheese, wild rice dressing. Send $2 and self-addressed, stamped envelope to: Recipes Unlimited, Box 27027, Kansas City, MO 64110.

LOW FAT, LOW CHOLESTEROL, delicious Middle-East recipes for healthy, long life. FREE details. StyleArt, 2126 Fairway, Suite 60, Atlanta, GA 30319.

HEAVEN MEETS EARTH in your mouth. Needing unusual holiday gifts? Java Sauce® is a ready-to-use, spicy Indonesian peanut sauce. Tastes great on stir-fried vegetables, meats, sandwiches, salads. Recipes included. $1 for sample; $6 for 9.5-ounce jar; $11 for 2 jars, postpaid. Multnomah Supplies, Box 15309 Dept. TN, Portland, OR 97215.

LEARN COOKING VIA HOME VIDEO
from master chefs:
Madeleine Kamman, Judith Olney, Richard Sax
For information and to order call (800) 228-5511

COUNSELING

WOMAN PSYCHOTHERAPIST, 19 years experience, Ph.D. in clinical psychology. Insight-oriented and analytic. Crisis intervention; short-term; long-term intensive psychoanalytic approach. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Carnegie Hall vicinity, New York City. (212) 582-5508.

NEURO-LINGUISTIC PROGRAMMING, an alternative to endless, unproductive, boring psychotherapy. Call David Fitelson, Ph.D. (212) 475-0237.

EXPERIENCED AND PROGRESSIVE psychotherapist, Ph.D. Extensive work with academics and students. Spanish/English. (212) 877-6421.

COUNSELING

MEN'S GROUP in West L.A.: a safe place to explore all the issues of our lives as men. (213) 208-8349.

EDUCATION

STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA
Four hours of classes daily, meetings with political leaders, family living and community work. Monthly entry dates.
Casa Nicaraguense de Espanol. 853 Broadway, Room 1105, New York, NY 10003. (212) 777-1197. Spaces still available for 8/25 & 9/22 classes.

"NICA": ESTELI, NICARAGUA
Learn Spanish in revolutionary Nicaragua! NICA offers year-round programs of family living, language classes, community work and seminars with Nicaraguan leaders. Apply now for 1986 sessions. Call or write: NICA, Box 1409-XX, Cambridge, MA 02238. (617) 497-7142

FILMS & VIDEOS

FAMOUS VIDEOTAPE of Nixon's Resignation Speech with pre-broadcast outbursts. VHS. $32. Media Bus, Box 718, Woodstock, NY 12498.

WORLDWISE
Media with a World View
16mm films, videos and tapes with primary focus on South Africa.
LaFarge, WI 54639
New Number! (608) 625-2517.

FUND RAISING

PEACE, SAFE-ENERGY GROUPS—Raise money and spread the word. Sell Out of the Darkness, a record or tape featuring songs on peace and safe energy sung by Pete Seeger, Kate Wolf, Holly Near, Jesse Colin Young, many others. Sold to groups at bulk rates. For information write Box 3827, Berkeley, CA 94703 or call (415) 547-6696 from 1 to 5 pm.

GAMES & PUZZLES

NEW COLLECTION of The Nation's Best Puzzles! Book 5 just printed, British-style crosswords. $5 postpaid to E.S. Lewis, 1620 Acushnet Avenue, New Bedford, MA 02746.

COMPETE with friends interpreting dreams. Patented game, $5, Rein Company, 35 Clark Street, Brooklyn, NY 11201.

GIFTS

FREE BOOK, POSTER catalogue—feminism, men's consciousness-raising, social change: Times Change Press, Albion, CA 95410-0187.

GENITALIA POSTER depicts male organs of 12 animals, from man to whale. Scientific but funny. $10: Poster C, Box 1348, New York, NY 10025.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GIFTS

"PEACE IS SOMETHING SPESHL" 216 children's writings and drawings $5.50; quantity discounts; nice gifts. KCIPA, 5828 Cherry, Kansas City, MO 64110, (816) 523-3627.

NICARAGUA LIBRE
1987 ENGAGEMENT CALENDAR
A 28-page illustrated calendar to use at your desk or on your wall
****
$3.00 each $2.50 each for 10 or more
$2.00 each for 100 or more
Mail orders: add $1.50 postage for 1-5 copies; $2.00 for 6-10 $3.00 for 11-25 $5.00 postage for each 100 copies
ORDER FROM Kathy Casey 337 W. 21st St., Apt. B New York, NY 10011 or call 212-929-2362
All profits go to U.S. work brigades in Nicaragua.

FILMS FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE
The 1987 War Resisters League
PEACE CALENDAR and Appointment Book

- Introductions by Ruby Dee and Ed Asner
- Over 150 movies with themes of peace and justice • 54 film photos • Lists of distributors and resources • 128 pages, 5½ x 8½ • A page for every week of the year. $8 each, Four for $28. Order from: Donnelly/Colt, Box 188 N, Hampton, CT 06247. 203 455-9621.

HEALTH

LOSE UP TO 57 POUNDS without dieting! Free information. Life, 3828 Whitman North #303, Seattle, WA 98103.

DIET ANALYZER. Is your diet safe, effective? Computerized analysis lists specific problems, makes recommendations. Free details. StyleArt, 2126 Fairway, Suite 60, Atlanta, GA 30319.

HOUSESITTING

MATURE, RESPONSIBLE peace march couple seek housesitting anywhere on East Coast after November 20. Nation Box 200.

INSURANCE

RWP/SHAFFER ASSOCIATES
INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL SERVICES
Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning
11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, NY 11021
718-895-7005, 516-466-4642

INVENTIONS

INVENTIONS, IDEAS, technology wanted! Call free 1-800-528-6050. Canada, 1-800-528-6060, ext. 831.

MERCHANDISE

ABOLISH APARTHEID — T-shirts $7.50; Buttons and bumperstickers 75¢; Labels 40/$1; Balloons 5/$1, 50/$8. Add 15% postage. Bulk prices also available. We have over 300 buttons & stickers in stock for immediate delivery. Also, posters, labels, t-shirts, balloons, etc. We can also customprint your message, all union made. Write for a free catalog. Donnelly/Colt, Box 188N, Hampton, CT 06247.

RADICAL RAGS—The Nation T-shirt. Comfortable (100% cotton), sleek (white lettering on red or black T-shirt) and inexpensive ($9.95 each, includes UPS delivery). S,M,L,XL. **If ordering as a gift,** enclose a card and we will send it with T-shirt. Mail to The Nation, Radical Rags, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York NY 10011. New York State residents add appropriate sales tax.

ORGANIZATIONS

JOIN THE HARVEST!
Volunteer work brigades leaving for Nicaragua from November–March to help with coffee and cotton harvests. Two- or three-week periods, approximate cost: $700 from Miami or Mexico. Also, special brigades: Third World, Women, Elders and Youth, and Students.
NICARAGUA EXCHANGE
239 CENTRE STREET, NYC, NY 10013
212/219-8620

PERSONALS

PERSONALS ADVERTISERS
A Nation box number and weekly forwarding service is available for a one-time $5 charge added to the cost of your classified ad.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS for all cultured singles, 3,000 members. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write Box 117, Gradyville, PA 19039 or call (215) 358-5049.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links compatible, peace-oriented singles, all areas. Free sample: Box 7737-A, Berkeley, CA 94707

CHAPEL HILL, NC-area woman, 56, attractive, slim affectionate, with broad interests seeks compatible male. Suite S, 95 South Elliott Road, Chapel Hill, NC 27514.

ART LOVERS' EXCHANGE—Unattached fine-arts lovers get acquainted. Nationwide. Write: ALX, Box 265, Bensalem, PA 19020.

PERSONALS

PROGRESSIVE GAY MAN, 31, Catholic working-class background, political, pro-feminist, smoker, don't drink. Seeks another man of artistic sensibility to transcend the negations with. Los Angeles. Nation Box 163.

ROMANTIC FEMALE FEMINIST seeking companero who revels in dancing, garlic, Matisse, PHC, hugs, surprises, friends. NYC. Nation Box 165.

STILL YOUTHFUL widow, activist, professional, Nation-subscriber, Free-thinker; seeking good-humored, non-self-indulging, secure, mature, gentle man over 50 to share conversations, social, cultural, political, human events. Brooklyn. Object: improving our society. Nation Box 166.

L.A. MUSE seeks subtle, brilliant, Dionysian bear, 40 plus, with an appetite for the fruits of chaos. Nation Box 173.

HOUSEHUSBAND: 57, divorced, educated, solvent, tractable, seeks active, positive woman for direction, affection and apron. Reply Nation Box 167.

ARTISTICALLY INVOLVING, psychologically revolving, spiritually evolving. Pert, playful, perceptive, SWF, Manhattanite, 48, seeks sensitive, smoking-free, sane swain as accomplice for abundant adventure. Nation Box 168.

CAN I BUY YOU A DRINK? Traveling businesswoman, 31, seeks friends for dinners and intelligent conversation in Des Moines. Twin Cities, Wisconsin and Chicago. Nation Box 169.

MANHATTAN ARTIST/Poet/Corporate Combo/Master's Degree. Woman seeks 50ish gentleman, similar background. Nation Box 170.

GM, 29, NYC, lean, intelligent, sensitive, perceptive, ironic. Hates smoking, otherwise humorous. Loves Henry James, otherwise unpretentious. Wishes to meet compatible man. Nation Box 171.

WIDOWER OVER 65. Physical and intellectual vitality. Progressive politically. Retired businessman 5'8" tall. Interested meeting unencumbered widow J.N.R. Must reside L.I. north shore. Nation Box 172.

To place a personal ad complete the classified order form. Discount for Personal ads postmarked by November 30: pay for your ad to run in 2 issues and we will run it a third time free.

If responding to a Nation box number send replies to: Nation Box _____, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. Nationwide alternative media service organization seeks dedicated executive director with proven administrative and fundraising skills. Salary $20,000. Send resume to: Media Network, 121 Fulton Street, New York, NY 10038.

ALTERNATIVE JOBS/INTERNSHIPS! Environmental, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing, and more. Monthly nationwide listings, $9/6 issues. COMMUNITY JOBS, Box 1105N, 1319 18th Street N.W., Washington DC 20036.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

EDITORS, WRITERS, ORGANIZERS, business managers, promotion specialists. Nonprofit research and advocacy organization which publishes a number of magazines, newsletters, books and reports. Founded by Ralph Nader, based in Washington, DC. Salary negotiable. Send resume and references to: Louis Nemeth, Box 19367, Washington, DC 20036.

Engineers, Technicians, Businesspeople, Computer Professionals, Mechanics, etc.,
NICARAGUA NEEDS YOU!
Volunteers are urgently needed for 2-week training and consulting positions in various governmental and non-governmental agencies. Trips leave every month. Please contact:
tecNICA, Dept. N, 2727 College Avenue
Berkeley, CA 94705 415-848-0292

CIRCULATION MANAGER/ASSISTANT TO PUBLISHER at Middle East Research & Information Project. Full-time opening in New York office. Excellent administrative and office skills preferred. Good work conditions. Salary competitive. Send resume to MERIP, 475 Riverside Drive, room 518, New York, NY 10115.

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY - TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for $2 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

WOMEN'S REVIEW OF BOOKS, monthly review of current feminist writing. Subscriptions: $14/U.S., $17/Canada. $25/Institutions. Free sample issue on request. Dept. NA, Women's Review, Wellesley Women's Research Center, Wellesley, MA 02181.

PROCESSED WORLD exposes underside of Information Age. $10 for 4 issues. Write: 41 Sutter Street, #1829, San Francisco, CA 94104.

COPIES OF THE HISTORIC 120th anniversary issue of The Nation are available from the New York office. The cost is $4 each, $2.50 each for 10 or more (postpaid). Send order to: The Nation, Attn: Anniversary Issue, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

PUBLICATIONS

THE OBJECTOR, journal of draft and military counseling. $15 per year. CCCO-West, Box 42249, San Francisco, CA 94142.

MODERN-LIBRARY Collector #11, 12. 8 pages each. $4 postpaid. Oestreich, 340 Warren, Cincinnati OH 45220-1135.

STOP SMOKING THROUGH psychoanalytic insights and alternative satisfactions. $3. R. Weiss, 677 Wrightwood, Chicago, IL 60614.

THE GLOBAL CORPORATIST. Restructuring for permanent peace and universal affluence. Box 2025, Gaithersburg, MD 20879.

THE PEOPLE. Marxist biweekly. Since 1891. 4 months/$1. 1 year/$4. The People (N), Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

SMALL TOWN, the voice of small town America. Articles on planning, preservation, attracting industry, housing, shopping malls, central business district improvement and other matters of interest to small communities. Individual membership in The Small Town Institute, $30. Box 517, Ellensburg, WA 98926. Just out, "Promoting the Arts in Small Communities," $6. Special prices for bulk orders.

REAL ESTATE

GOVERNMENT HOMES FROM $1. (U repair). Delinquent tax property. Repossessions. Call (805) 687-6000, ext H-3596 for current repo list.

RELIGION

JESUS FICTITIOUS—NEVER EXISTED! Scholarly booklet proves Flavius Josephus created Jesus, Gospels. $4. Abelard, Box 6215-A, Kent, WA 98064.

RENTALS

OREGON COAST bluff cottage, $80/$90 half week, $150 week. Brochure, 4718 Chrisella, Puyallup, WA 98372, (206) 845-0935.

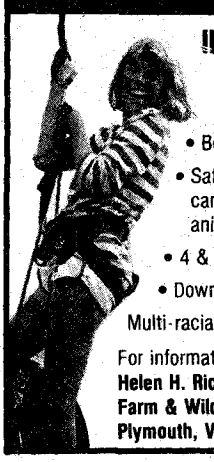
SERVICES

EDITORIAL: copyedit, proofread, research, rewrite. Articles, books, speeches. Ph.D. English. Manuscript or disk. Nation Box 204.

RESUME AND COVER LETTER writing/editing service for recent college graduates. Nonprofit and business resumes. (212) 677-3083.

SUMMER CAMPS

Happiness is a FARM & WILDERNESS SUMMER CAMP



IN VERMONT

- Six camps (even one for parents)
- Boys, girls & coed ages 9-17
- Safe, rugged adventure: hiking, canoeing, organic gardens, animals, sailing & more
- 4 & 8 week sessions
- Down-to-earth skills

Multi-racial Quaker camps since 1939

For information write or call:
Helen H. Richards
Farm & Wilderness Camps
Plymouth, VT 05056 (802) 422-3761

TRAVEL

NICARAGUA. People-to-people, one-week trip delegations from Los Angeles and San Francisco areas, or join us in Mexico City. Next departure January 16. Information: Office of the Americas, 1227 4th Street, Santa Monica, CA 90401. (213) 451-2428.

OVERSEAS OPPORTUNITIES Employment, living, study, independent travel: bimonthly resource guide. Ten-year index $1. Abroad, Box 344, NA-2, Amherst, MA 01004.

CRUISE ENGLISH CANALS. Left historian-skipper. $445 weekly, inclusive. Box 2083-N, Springfield, MA 01101. Telephone (413) 736-5937.

ROAM THE WORLD BY FREIGHTER, facts, destinations, recommendations on unusual cruising. TravLtips, Box 188U7A, Flushing, NY 11358.

WILDERNESS RETREATS

Opportunity to experience spiritual renewal, solitude, reflection and prayer in the breathtaking beauty of mountain wilderness in British Columbia and Washington State. Open to women and men. Experienced or inexperienced hikers/backpackers welcome.

1987 RETREATS:
July 20-27; August 4-11; August 19-26; September 2-9; December 1-8.

For more information and/registration contact:

WILDERNESS RETREATS, Kathleen Pruitt, CSJP, Sr. John Cecile Brennan, BVM, PO Box 22291, Seattle, WA 98122. (206) 322-9339 or (309) 787-4103.

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates: $1 per word, 15-word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Classified Display: $45 per column inch.

Deadline: Wednesday, 17 days prior to Saturday issue date.

Discounts: Pay for 3 runs, get 1 more free. Pay for 7 runs, 3 more free. Pay for 15 runs, 10 more free.

To: THE NATION
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for ____ weeks, plus ____ weeks free.

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

Payment must accompany order. **Payment in U.S. currency.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T-SHIRTS

"OUT OF IOWA"—American Gothic couple in safari garb. 5-color art on quality white T-shirt. S-M-L-XL. $9.95 postpaid. D & D Enterprises, Box 1945, Iowa City, IA 52244.

HANG ON HOOK UP QUALITY T-SHIRTS Designs for our times that say it up front!
Hand screened
Non-toxic water base inks
Heavyweight Cotton
Write for Free Brochure!
HANG ON-HOOK UP
Box 2869 dept.n-PETALUMA, CA.94953-2869

THE BILL OF RIGHTS T-SHIRT
First Ten Amendments to the Constitution screened on a Quality T-Shirt
WRITE FOR FREE CATALOGUE
CORONA GRAPHICS
DEPT. 10
395 RIVER ROAD
BOX 1084
E. LIVERPOOL, OHIO 43920
SPECIAL 2 For $13.95 PPD!
$9.95 Each PPD.
Red/White/Lt. Blue/Yellow
S/M/L/XL
Visa & MC

SAY NO TO NANCY
100% white cotton T-shirt features headline and black cartoon with red cross-circle. Send $8 and size to:
D.R. Atlas
P.O. Box 1942-Dept. N
Mt. Auburn St.
Cambridge, MA 02238

"HOLIDAY SOLIDARITY"
STOP U.S. WAR AGAINST NICARAGUA
100% cotton T-shirts & Sweatshirts
Black & white design on red
T's: $9.95 PPD
Sweats: $14.95
sizes: S,M,L,XL
Make check payable to:
NICARAGUA TASK FORCE
P.O. Box 1138
Venice, Ca. 90294-1138

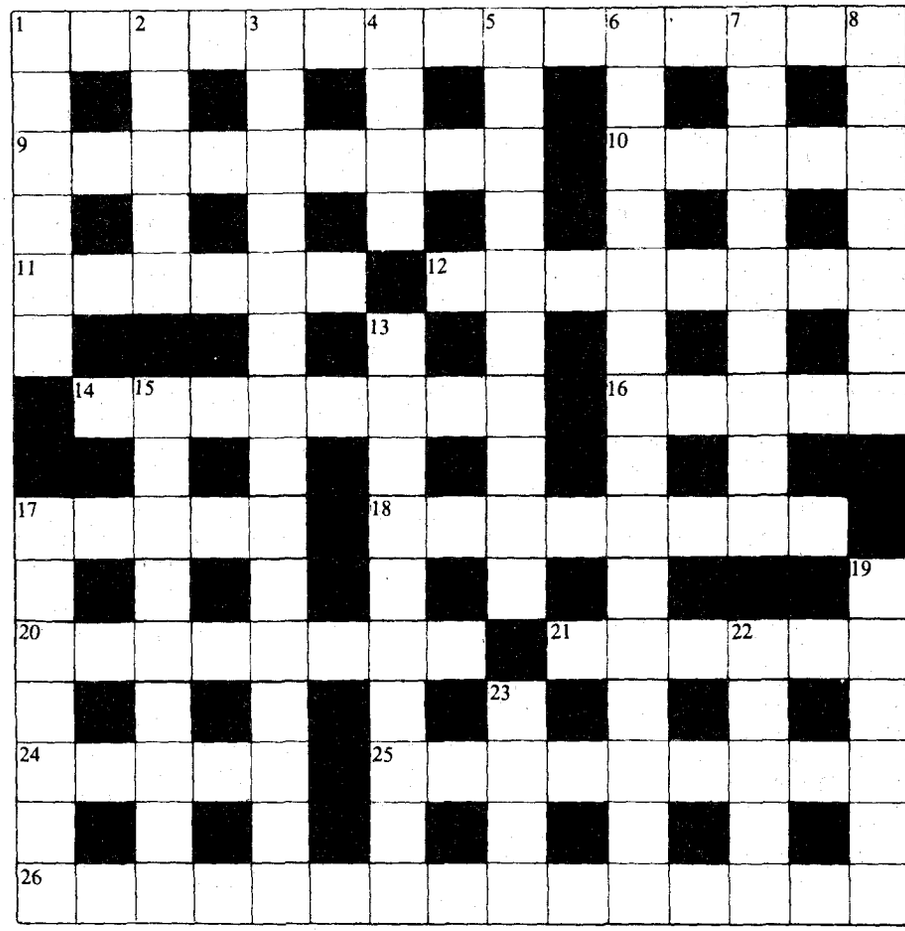
SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2125

K	E	E	P	O	F	F	T	H	E	G	R	A	S	S
N	■	Y	■	R	■	A	■	A	■	U	■	N	■	E
I	N	E	P	T	■	S	T	R	A	T	E	G	I	C
G	■	S	■	O	■	T	■	D	■	T	■	L	■	O
H	U	R	T	L	E	D	■	S	H	E	B	E	E	N
T	■	I	■	A	■	A	■	E	■	R	■	■	■	D
O	R	G	A	N	D	Y	■	T	E	S	S	E	R	A
F	■	H	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	X	■	R
T	U	T	O	R	E	D	■	P	R	I	M	A	R	Y
H	■	■	■	E	■	I	■	A	■	L	■	C	■	S
E	N	C	A	G	E	S	■	P	O	L	I	T	I	C
B	■	O	■	A	■	C	■	I	■	F	■	F	■	H
A	P	R	I	L	F	O	O	L	■	A	L	A	M	O
T	■	G	■	I	■	R	■	L	■	M	■	R	■	O
H	A	I	L	A	N	D	F	A	R	E	W	E	L	L

LOCAL ONE UNION LABEL X-523

Crossword Puzzle No. 2126

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Statuesque glamour boy. (6,9)
9 How a drumhead fits? (9)
10 Cut by some with relish? (5)
11 Is this out on a limb? (What a story!) (6)
12 and 1 down Comparatively unruffled, a mass looks this different. (2,6,2,4)
14 Possibly I clear up what might be strange to you. (8)
16 Socially acceptable, but sort of tiny for something taken as one. (5)
17 Sudden 7 are by the sound of it in a complete flop. (5)
18 Study symbols and sometimes ships. (8)
20 These protect all hands on watch. (8)
21 All wrapped up in the *Post*. (5)
24 All comes back to no conclusion, but is made plain. (5)
25 Trial if it comes to die, in a way, which could be evidenced. (9)
26 If Tommy in this watches out, he shouldn't get into hot water. (10,5)

DOWN

1 See 12 across.
2 Due to nothing on one side? (5)
3 Stock market reports from Spanish-speaking countries—typified by caveat emptor. (5,10)
4 New models might have them, or old houses, or beds. (4)
5 On a trapeze, this might unseasonably lead to 15. (May the beginning of it?) (4,6)
6 No longer corresponding—but that's what certain authorities might be doing if you don't do what they say. (15)
7 In polo, sex exploitation might be responsible for a 17. (9)
8 Like a worm-getting bird around almost all the mortal remains. (7)
13 A handout is about to, like a fan, perhaps. (10)
15 With this, they're not talking about Adam and Eve's disgraceful act, however. (It might imply a cold winter!) (5,4)
17 It came from "one who tends cattle" in the country, obviously. (7)
19 Went along without much effort—and certainly didn't make a powerful approach. (6)
22 Country dish, perhaps. (5)
23 Classically something was piled on it so as to make it. (4)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

PUZZLED?

No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules," send for those of Mr. Lewis to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The price of looking it up just went *way down*!

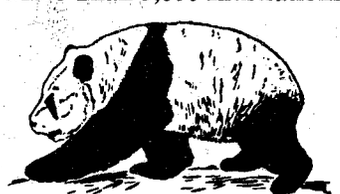
While most unabridged dictionaries sell for unabridged prices—$50, $60, $70—this 2,300-page Webster's costs only $19.95. Through a special arrangement with the publisher, we are now able to offer this $69.95 value at a 70%—or $50—markdown from the original price! Now, you can bring this widely respected reference into your home, office, or classroom. And just look at what the Webster's contains:

- Over 320,000 Words
- More than 3,000 Illustrations
- 19 Encyclopedic Supplements
- A Thumb-Indexed Format

This Standard Reference Has Over 320,000 Words

For more than 40 years, the Webster's *comprehensiveness has made it the* standard reference. With over 320,000 words and phrases, the *Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary continues* that great tradition. The Webster's defines common and obscure words, words used in other centuries and words newly created in the sciences and the humanities.

More Than 3,000 Illustrations



GIANT PANDA (6 ft. long)

The Webster's is strong on visuals, too. Finely detailed pen drawings appear throughout the text. These illustrations help make the Webster's a fun, visually exciting learning experience, especially for children.

19 Encyclopedic Supplements

Other dictionaries may contain a few supplements, but the Webster's has over *150 pages* of specialized information for every interest. Here are just *some* of the categories and features included.

- 16 pages of full-color Maps
- Dictionaries of Place Names and Geographical Features
- A Dictionary of Biography
- Dictionaries of Names from the Bible, Myths, and Fiction
- A Dictionary of Commonly Used Abbreviations
- Forms of Addresses
- The Basics of Practical Math
- Commonly Used Financial and Commercial Terms
- A Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases

A Tradition of Quality

Concise, correct, complete definitions have been the hallmark of the Webster's since the distinguished philologist Noah Webster published the first edition in 1806. The Webster tradition of quality also extends to its format and organization. The pages are thumb-indexed for handy reference. While other large dictionaries use eye-straining type, the Webster's features good-sized print, with defined words standing out clearly in boldface. To make reading easier still, each definition is listed on a separate line or set of lines.

We Repeat: $19.95 Is An Unbeatable Value

An *unabridged* dictionary that sells for $19.95 is a rare find, especially when the dictionary bears a famous name like Webster's. And, as with anything you buy by mail from us, our **30-day money-back guarantee** means that if you decide to return this dictionary within 30 days, we will refund your money *in full*.

SINCE 1873
Barnes & Noble
BOOKSTORES
Dept. W273, 126 Fifth Ave., N.Y., NY 10011

1189398. Please rush me____copies of the Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary at your special sale price of $19.95 (plus $3.00 shipping & insurance per volume.) N.Y. and N.J. residents: Please add sales tax.

Your 30 Day Money-Back Guarantee
Examine this unabridged dictionary for up to 30 days. If you are not absolutely convinced that it is the finest dictionary you ever used, return it for a full and prompt refund.

✔Check One
☐ Payment enclosed
☐ I prefer to charge this purchase to:

☐ American Express Card ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard

Name_____
Address_____
City_____
State_____ Zip_____
Account# Exp.
Signature

Offer good only in the continental U.S.

© 1989 Barnes & Noble Booksellers, Inc.

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED